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THE

RIGHT REV. ROBERT MILMAN, D.D.

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MEMOIR

OF THE

RIGHT REV.

ROBERT MILMAN, D.D.

LORD BISHOP of CALCUTTA & METROPOLITAN of INDIA

WITH A SELECTION FROM

HIS CORRESPONDENCE AND JOURNALS

BY HIS SISTER

FRANCES MARIA MILMAN

With a Map

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1879

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PREFACE.

In offering to the public this brief Memoir of the late Bishop of Calcutta I must beg for the indulgence of my readers. Altogether unpractised as a writer, I would gladly have entrusted the task to other hands; but it was strongly urged upon me that no one else would have the same advantages in narrating the story of my brother's life and labours as I, who, in England as well as in India, had been his constant companion for many years; who had shared his work so far as it was possible for me to do so; and who, enjoying his fullest confidence, encompassed by his tender love and care, had means of knowing his inmost thoughts and aspirations such as none other could possess.

If, then, it seemed desirable that some account of his episcopate of nine years should be placed on record, I could scarcely avoid the duty of preparing it; and that some such record was desirable and desired I could not doubt, knowing, as I did, how anxiously it was looked for by many of his friends, and assured as I was that a memorial of his abundant labours, drawn up while the memory of them was still fresh, could not but be of service to those who, each in their several spheres, are now actively engaged upon the work of the Church in India.

With only my love and desire to give a true representation of my brother's work and character to help me, I have fulfilled to the best of my ability the sad but interesting task; always

endeavouring to use his own words, and weaving into a connected narrative selected extracts from his letters and journals.

These journals were never revised by the Bishop; but they are full of instruction and interest, and, had space allowed, I should have drawn more largely upon them. The handwriting, however, even to one as conversant with it as myself, is occasionally difficult to decipher, and I trust that any errors which may appear will be attributed to my imperfect transcription from the manuscript.

I have adhered generally, but not always, to the old spelling for the Indian places and cities, as, to readers at least in England, Káhnpúr, Lakhnáo, Mirath, Banáras, would at present be less intelligible than Cawnpore, Lucknow, Meerut, Benares, &c.

It is my hope that these pages will render some faint image of the man as he was,—full of intellectual gifts, yet full also of the Christian grace of humility; full of zeal for the extension of Christianity in India, yet possessed of a large-hearted sympathy for those who had been nurtured in other creeds; working to the utmost limit of his power, absorbed in his vocation, yet with a mind ever open to external influences, a genial companion, a keen observer of nature, 'in the world, but not of the world,' approving himself a real missionary bishop, a true son of the Church, yet enjoying the confidence of the Government and the love and respect of the whole European community.

OXFORD, 1879.

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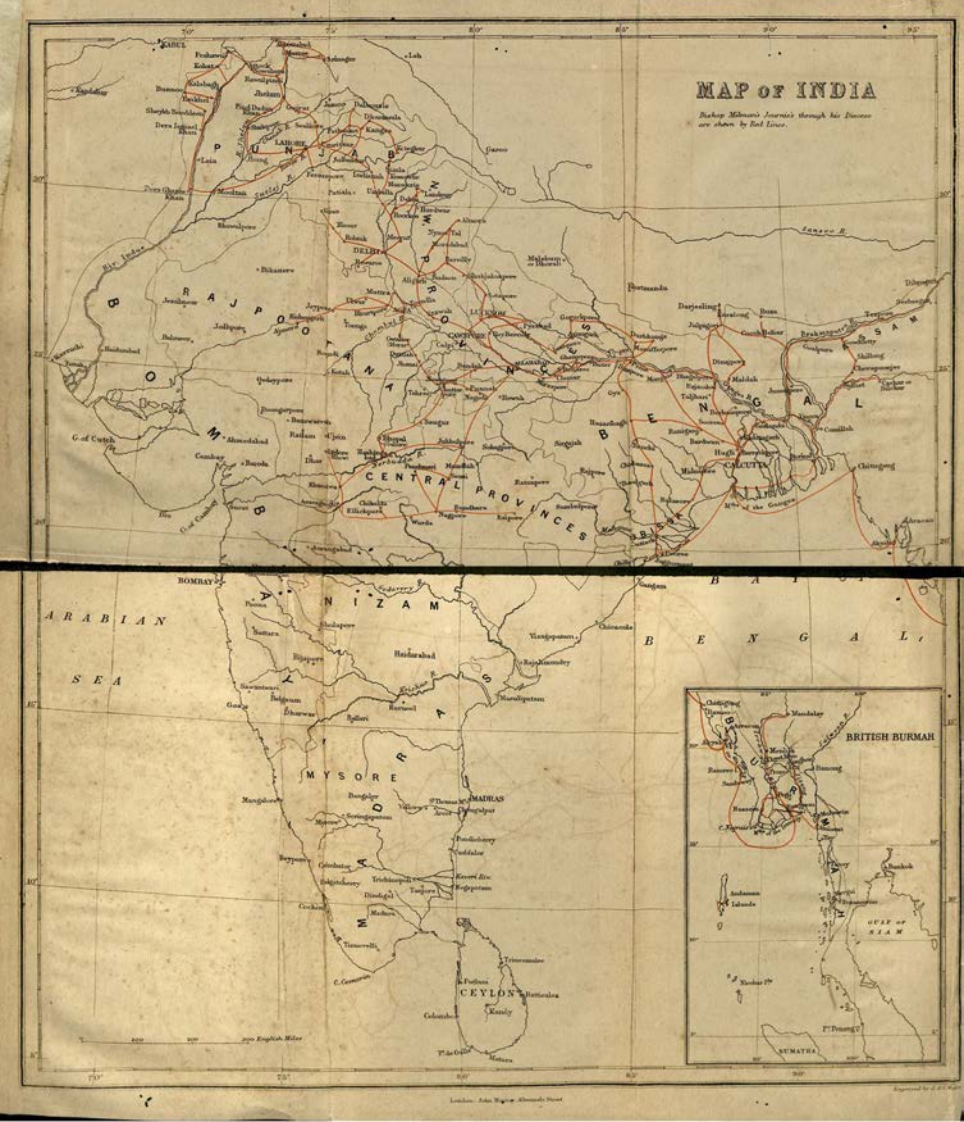
Page 75, line 31, *for* Dehra Ismail Khan *read* Dera Ismail Khan.
„ 76 „ 11, „ Dehra Ghazi Khan „ Dera Ghazi Khan.


MAP OF INDIA
Bishop Milman's Journies through his Diocese are shown by Red Lines.
KABUL
PUNJAB
LAHORE
DELHI
RAJPOOTANA
BOMBAY
CENTRAL PROVINCES
BENGAL
CALCUTTA
NIZAM
HYDERABAD
MYSORE
MADRAS
CEYLON
BRITISH BURMAH
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
GULF OF SIAM
SUMATRA

MEMOIR

OF

ROBERT MILMAN, D.D.

CHAPTER I.

Size of See of Calcutta—Mr. Milman's Birth—Early Life—Ordination—Appointment to Living of Chaddleworth—Writings—Move to Lamborne—Work—Letter on the Death of his Mother—'Love of the Atonement'—Great Marlow—Learning—Sermons—Personal Influence.

THE see of Calcutta, when Robert Milman was appointed to it in January 1867, contained nearly 1,000,000 square miles, or two-thirds of all India, about the same amount of territory as is comprised in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Spain, with a population of 150,000,000 inhabitants.

In 1834 the Calcutta diocese was said officially 'to be too great in extent for the incumbent thereof to perform all the duties of the office without endangering his health and life.' 138,000 square miles of Madras territory and 140,000 of Bombay territory were in consequence parted off, and two new dioceses were constituted.

In 1867 the see was larger than ever, for the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Oudh, Rohilcund, and British Burma had all been added to it, with their united area of 345,000 square miles, and yet it was still under the supervision of one man.

Robert Milman was the last bishop who ruled over this vast

and overwhelming diocese, for its division, which he in his life was not able to accomplish, his death in the discharge of his duty in the distant province of the Punjab stirred the hearts of people to effect. The Punjab and Burma are now, as he earnestly desired to see them, seats of independent bishoprics, the first, that of Lahore, having been founded as a worthy memorial to himself.

The interest of Robert Milman's life centres in the nine years of his incessant and devoted labour in India, where he set so great and bright an example of missionary energy and zeal, feeling, as he said himself, 'before Christ responsible for the heathen round about him' as well as for all the English committed to his charge. 'We Indian bishops,' he wrote, 'were especially appointed from the first with distinctly missionary objects; to be mere Head Military Chaplain is not a position which would have much attraction.' 'I think our position here in India impresses upon us all the purpose for which we are placed here—viz. the conversion of India. This seems to me God's reason for giving us this strange dominion.' It was as a missionary that he was ready when called on to leave home and relatives at once, prepared for any work, however hard, if it was for the glory of God and the conversion of the heathen. His journals and letters will best show forth how this work was done; how he was fitted for it by his education and previous career may be first briefly described.

He was the third son of Sir William George Milman, Bart., of Levaton, in the county of Devon, and was born on St. Paul's day, January 25, 1816. His mother was a daughter of Mr. Alderson, Recorder of Norwich.

He inherited from his father, an accomplished man and an excellent linguist, his great power of acquiring languages; from his mother, to whom he was devotedly attached, much of his fervent piety and strong faith; her early influence and devout life making a deep and lasting impression on the boy.

At an early age he was sent as a day scholar to Westminster

School, where he afterwards carried off the Ireland and Burton prizes. From thence he went up to Oxford, obtained a scholarship at Exeter, and took a second class in 1837.

After leaving college he went with his father and mother, accompanied by some of the younger members of the family, for a tour on the Continent, and spent a winter in Rome. The party being too large for one carriage, he drove his father with the same English horse in an old-fashioned gig the whole way to Naples and back, a feat he often used to boast of in after days. Ordained by the Bishop of Peterborough in 1839 to the curacy of Winwick in Northamptonshire, he was in the following year presented to the living of Chaddleworth, in Berkshire, by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, on the nomination of his uncle, the Rev. H. H. Milman, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, who was then one of the canons of Westminster.

In that quiet Berkshire village he began his life of self-devotion, labouring diligently among his flock, the church bell daily sounding for prayers, in accordance with the rule of the Church he especially loved to see obeyed. There, too, he began that system of liberal pouring out of his means which characterised his whole life, giving away a large part of his income. His idea of almsgiving is well illustrated by a story of one who was spoken of in his presence as always giving away a tenth of his income. 'It is an excellent rule; he wished everyone would practise it,' he said; 'but it was the Jewish rule, not Christ's rule.' In that quiet home he laid up some of those stores of learning which he turned to such good account in after years. His physical powers were great; constantly not more than four or five hours in bed, he read diligently far into the night.

He was often remonstrated with on the small amount of rest he took. At one time, after reading an account of the sad end of Hugh Miller, whose illness and death were said to have been caused by over-work at night, he determined to change his habits; but after a fortnight's trial of the new system he

resumed, and never afterwards gave up, his old custom of late reading, saying that he had found no benefit from the change.

He had much of the poet and artist in his composition, with a great love of the beautiful both in nature and art. This was combined with a keen sense of humour, which was, however, never indulged at the expense of others, but sparkled in his speeches and in his conversation.

His first literary effort was a small book of 'Meditations on Confirmation,' which attracted the notice of one of the leaders of thought at Oxford, who offered him a church in the North, which he for some reason declined. This book was followed by the 'Mystery of Marking,' an allegory illustrative of baptism, another allegory called the 'Caravan,' and the 'Voices of Harvest,' an excellent exhortation to prepare for the coming of the Lord of the Harvest.

Besides these devotional works, he published in 1850 a Life of Tasso. He was an elegant Italian scholar, and some of the smaller fragments of poetry contained in these volumes are beautifully rendered into English verse.

He acquired German after he was ordained, that he might read the many theological books written in that language.

At one time, during his residence at Chaddleworth, he had some thoughts of going to Adelaide, in Australia, with Bishop Short; but finding it was money more than men that was then wanted, and his mother also being in a very precarious state of health, he collected instead a considerable sum of money and gave it to the mission.

In 1851 he exchanged the living of Chaddleworth for the less valuable but far larger and more populous parish of Lamborne, in the same county of Berkshire. There he passed eleven years, toiling night and day to reform one of the wildest and most neglected of the parishes in the diocese of Oxford.

One of his brothers described him, when he first went there, as being policeman as well as parson. Essentially manly, exceedingly active, a skilful rider, and of indomitable courage,

he was just the man for such a parish. A new church, built in the hamlet of Eastbury, was soon followed by middle-class schools for boys and girls, the completion of the Lamborne National Schools, the building of a school and master's house at Eastbury, and, last of all, by the thorough restoration of the chancel of the grand parish church. All these buildings were erected chiefly by the sacrifice of his small private fortune.

These external works were but tokens of, and went side by side with, a deeper change in the character of the parish. The lasting impression he made on the place was such that one who worked there more than ten years after he had left was so stirred and moved by what he called the 'sweet savour' of Mr. Milman's work, which he found still there, that it inspired him with the desire to become, what he is now, a zealous and most devoted missionary.

Mr. Milman was continually amongst his parishioners, preaching, usually, three times each Sunday, at Lamborne or at Eastbury, and speaking to his people by cottage lectures in outlying parts of the parish. He started night schools, and all agencies by which he could influence them for good; began each day with prayer in church, and each Sunday with a celebration of Holy Communion, spending and being spent for his people with absolute self-devotion. One story of his Lamborne days is told which is very characteristic. No one cared more for manly sports than he did, but he was deeply convinced of the abuses of the turf, and having racing stables in the parish, he knew only too well to what evils it led. On one occasion soon after he had come to the parish, when he had refused permission for the church bells to be rung in honour of the victory of a celebrated Lamborne horse, the ringers obtained access to the tower, and locking themselves in, rang a peal. Mr. Milman could not restrain his indignation. He summoned the ringers before the magistrates, and on the following Sunday preached so vehemently upon the abuses of the turf that no one ventured to trifle with him again. Yet, though he lamented the abuses

of horse-racing, no one attended with greater care to those who were employed in the trainer's stables; and that care was returned with confidence by the men and boys, one jockey even finding his way in India to the Bishop's Palace at Calcutta.

During his residence at Lamborne he wrote a beautiful exposition of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, entitled 'The Love of the Atonement,' a book well calculated to deepen and purify the faith of those who study it. A second part was to have been written—'The Mercy of the Atonement'—but unfortunately he never found leisure to complete it. Even as late as 1873 he wrote, 'I wish I could write a second part, but, alas! I cannot get time. I keep hoping each stay in Calcutta to find sufficient leisure, but it never comes.'

In 1853 he brought out the 'Conversion of Pomerania,' an historical sketch of the twelfth century, which is now recommended as a book for study of the period of which it treats for the schools at Oxford.

His mother died at the close of that year, and it was a great interest to her to hear portions of this story read as she lay on her couch during the weary hours of sickness. Her last hours on earth were soothed and strengthened by the prayers of her son Robert, the stay and comfort of her family in their hour of sorrow.

He felt his mother's death deeply, and on his return to Lamborne sent this beautiful letter of sympathy to his sister:—

'I always feared that you would feel the loneliness of the house, and the absence of her to whom you have been so devoted, more and more after the necessary arrangements were ended and your daily life resumed its natural course; even here, with so much to do and so many subjects for thought, I seem to feel the loss more heavily now when returned to my customary routine. What, then, must you experience when you miss her in every matter and every object around you? You must make Christ more and more your *Friend*. He alone can supply the place to you, and He has promised to be mother and brother

and sister and everything to us, and in Him you can ever find and commune with her whom you have lost.

'He names us "*friends*" if we do "whatsoever He commands us;" and as you have lost one who was not a mother only, but a friend, you must cleave to Him who alone can fill this place for you. . . .'

In 1858, on the death of their father, his sister went to reside with him, and it is her privilege to think that from that time she added to the happiness of his home. They were united with the bonds of no common affection; and when he was called to India, without any hesitation she resolved at once to accompany him.

In 1862, at the request of Bishop Wilberforce and to the great regret of the people of Lamborne, Mr. Milman accepted the living of Great Marlow, in Buckinghamshire. It was a real act of self-sacrifice: the income was smaller, the population and responsibility far greater; there was, moreover, a miserable vicarage house.

There had been an earnest and diligent clergyman as his predecessor in the parish, but he had sunk beneath the load of work, and Marlow needed the same sort of vigorous and kindly care which had been spent with such effect on Lamborne. Two of Mr. Milman's curates moved with him to Marlow, and two more were added to the staff. So excellent a school for the training of curates was his parish considered, that some worked under him taking no remuneration, in order to learn their duty.

An intense worker himself, Mr. Milman had the faculty of making others work—perhaps from the fact that, as one of his curates said, the Vicar always took the lion's share of work himself. The inhabitants of Marlow felt the sacrifice he had made in taking the living, and repaid it with the most loyal affection. They assisted liberally in the erection of an excellent vicarage, in which he had only resided a year when he was called to India, after five years of work amongst them, leaving a loving memory of himself behind him.

His only literary work during that period was a little book published in 1865, which he entitled 'Convalescence,' a useful and practical help for those recovering from sickness, and four tracts[1] which he contributed to the volume of 'Tracts for the Christian Seasons.'

His reading was extensive, especially of the Fathers, and his wonderful memory enabled him to turn these great studies to account.

He conducted Retreats for Clergy at different places, and gave frequent lectures at the Theological College at Cuddesdon. In 1865, being asked one day to lecture on St. Cyprian and St. Anselm the following week, 'I will come. I have read all Anselm,' he quietly said. The impression made by his lectures was thus described by one of his hearers:—'They took my fancy immensely; I had never heard such a speaker as Mr. Milman. There was so much ability and depth in all he said, such fresh first-hand learning, such a feeling and earnestness. He appeared familiar with all the history, philosophy, and general life of those ages. I think his lectures gave me more help in forming my idea about the medieval Church and the relation of philosophy to religion than anything I ever read or heard. When one thinks of the rubbish many lectures and books are, it is simply captivating to a young man's mind to hear anyone talk who seemed to know all about his subject.'

One story is told of his readiness in quoting from the Fathers. He was walking with Dr. Liddon, then a young man on a visit to Lamborne, who was going to preach the Latin sermon before the University at Oxford. Mr. Liddon told him the subject he intended to select, and asked him if he remembered anything in St. Augustine bearing upon it. He walked on two or three minutes in silence, and then began quoting passages from St. Augustine which occurred to him.

When Bishop Wilberforce first started the Lent missions in

[1] Those for the first and second Sundays after Christmas, third and fourth Sundays after Easter, and for St. Peter's Day.

his diocese, he held one at Reading. The opening sermons at St. Giles's and St. Mary's were announced to be preached on a given subject by Bishop Wilberforce and Dr. Vaughan. The morning came, and with it a telegram from Dr. Vaughan to say that he could not come. Who was to preach the sermon at so short a notice? Some one suggested, 'Send for Milman; he could do it.' He undertook the task, and preached so fine and so eloquent a sermon that the Dissenters said if that was Church preaching they would go and hear the rest, while the learned among his hearers were surprised by quotations from the Fathers such as they said it would have taken any ordinary man a fortnight to read up.

His sermons were very original. One well capable of forming a judgment said of them 'he had never heard a man turn on such a quantity of solid and striking matter.' Another, who is now a bishop, said 'he always got one sermon, if not two, out of what he heard Milman preach.'

The following description of his preaching is from the pen of one of his curates who was with him for nine years, and who is now rector of a parish and Proctor in the Lower House of Convocation:—'He was a preacher of no common order. His sermons were models of true eloquence, fluent in language, simple in style, forcible in expression, rich in simile, pictorial in effect. Every sentence discovered a deep knowledge of Scripture, which his unusually retentive memory reproduced in quotation with ready and perfect accuracy. A wide patristic reading supplied him with abundant materials. Always delivered extempore, his sermons were frequently one lengthened meditation; some word, or epithet, or scene would be thought out on the spur of the moment and reproduced in ever new combinations till its manysidedness had been placed before his people. Add to this a peculiar flashing of a quick and remarkably piercing eye, and the reader may in a measure understand how many felt his preaching to be not merely impressive but inspired.

'How striking was his description, in a sermon preached at Oxford,[2] of the scene of the early Christian's tortures. "See," he says, "what Christ's servants had to conflict with in the beginning; reproduce the strongholds of evil which they had to assault. Represent, for example, to yourselves some Roman amphitheatre; restore its ruined arches, tier above tier; fill them with the jubilant populace after some imperial triumph; let senators and knights occupy their solemn post of dignity; let the emperor be enthroned in the splendour of his majesty; let the purple awnings shut out the sunbeams; let luxury pour its odours and perfumes over the artificial airs which fan the hundred thousand spectators. Men, women, children, are there, all ranks and all classes gazing with entranced eyes on the spectacle before them. It is impossible to overrate the fascination of the scene to the old Roman heart. And all that scene is full of blood and cruelty, combined with luxury and wantonness. Human suffering, human agony, human death, are its amusements. Then comes the cry swelling up over the whole assembly, 'The Christians to the lions!' The helpless object of universal scorn and hate is to be the last and easiest victim. He enters the arena to die, but he enters it as 'more than conqueror.' He comes forth to wrestle against the principality and power of cruelty, the world-swaying spirit of luxurious ferocity, which had throned itself so long in that old Roman world; and it is a battle-field in which he shall triumph, 'for the Lord is in him, and the battle is the Lord's.' Soon people, and knight, and senator, and emperor shall fall before the standard which he bears. The Cross shall be planted in the mighty amphitheatre; the gladiatorial spectacles, with their loathsome fascinations, shall become abominations. The feeble hand of the dying victim shall pull down this stronghold of the spirits of death, and drive them out of the heart of mankind! . . . Again and again the conflict has to be waged; and many fall on the right hand and on the left. But still you see the

[2] *Oxford Lent Sermons*, 1865.

band of the elect moving as behind the Prince of Martyrs. 'Conquering and to conquer.' This is still their character. Still the Church brings forth her male children, aged grandsires, delicate women, tender youths and maidens, but all firm, resolute, unshrinking, faithful unto death, and so mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds!"'

This vivid description of the Christian's triumph does not seem inappropriate in the sketch of the life of one who was himself 'faithful unto death,' and who strove with all his might for the pulling down of the strongholds of unbelief and heathenism in that land whose conversion to the pure light of the Gospel he so earnestly desired.

Mr. Milman was not much known before he went to India beyond the Oxford diocese in which his life as a parish priest had been passed, but Bishop Wilberforce always appreciated his original genius and his learning. 'I have just heard of your appointment to Calcutta,' he wrote in January—'a great loss to me: an irreparable loss, so far as I can see; but for India and the widest Church interests everything. I do unfeignedly rejoice with all my selfish sorrow that you are going out to so great a calling. From what I know of you I think you are admirably fitted to do God's work there, and pray Him with all my heart to bless you.' Mr. Milman's personal influence was very great, and it was that which produced such an effect on those with whom he came in contact. Bishop Wilberforce, at the meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel before the Bishop left for India, bore testimony to this gift, 'his peculiar power,' he said, 'of influencing for good the most opposite classes of social life, the higher, the middle, the poorer.' It was this personal influence which made itself felt in the large sphere of India both among clergy and laity, and produced that spiritual growth which showed itself not only among Europeans, but also among the natives, the native Church growing and multiplying under his fostering care.

CHAPTER II.

Appointment to the See of Calcutta—Consecrated Bishop in Canterbury Cathedral, February 2, 1867—Arrival in India—Daily Life at Calcutta—Fatigue of Visitation Tours—Amount of Work in them—The Bishop's Journals—Longing for the Conversion of the Natives—Visitation of Burma—Return to Calcutta and Work there—Confirmation at Jhanjra—Hot Weather in Calcutta—Conversaziones at the Palace for Natives and Europeans—Dr. Norman Macleod's description of one.

IT was in the beginning of January 1867 that Mr. Milman was appointed to the see of Calcutta. One more eminently fitted for the work of that huge diocese could hardly have been found. His patristic learning, his intellectual gifts, his liberality of mind, inspired by his great humility and charity, which allowed others to differ from himself, his immense physical as well as linguistic powers, combined with much originality of thought, were well suited to the fresh field of work in which he was to be placed, and where he was to make 'such a mark as,' an Indian civilian high in office, a Presbyterian by birth, creed, and education said, 'no man had ever made in India before.'

He was consecrated Bishop of Calcutta on February 2, the Feast of the Purification. Many friends gathered round to witness the ceremony in the grand old cathedral at Canterbury, a fitting place from whence to send forth one who was to prove himself a great missionary of the Church in India.

Many were the touching testimonies of affection he received on his departure from those among whom he had laboured, and from his fellow workers. His great unselfishness, his ready sympathy, his unfailing charity, his heart, tender as a woman's,

had made him beloved, whilst his uncompromising strength of character, which never gave in where any question of principle was involved, had made him respected also by those around him.

The call to India was one he could not but obey, though, as he said in his farewell sermon at Marlow, 'I sought not this charge which has been laid upon me, but shrank from it, as others had done before me, overwhelmed by the greatness and difficulty of the task.'

At the India Office he was told that, as the see had been vacant three months, it would be well not to wait till the autumn, but to go as soon as possible. His own words in a sermon the previous year came back to the minds of those who heard them—'You cannot hurry God, but you can hurry man' —when, little more than five weeks after his appointment, he sailed for India.

Deus nobiscum, quis contra?

This, his family motto, heads the short diary of his journey from England to India. Then follows—

MISERERE MEI,

DEUS.

'Left Marlow on Thursday, February 14, 1867.

'Multiply Thy blessings upon it. Let there be showers of blessings. Amen.'

His sister, who had shared his home for the last nine years, accompanied him. This lessened the trial of leaving his relatives and friends; and how great the affection between them appears from a few touching words in one of his letters to her in 1868. 'My only trouble was leaving you alone at Murree. It is rather awful to feel how much we are to one another in this *bara jangal.*'[1]

[1] Great wilderness,

A few days were spent at Cairo. The Pyramids are described in the journal as 'grander than I expected, a sight for one's life.'

Throughout the voyage daily prayers and Sunday services were said by the Bishop, there being no other clergyman on board.

On his arrival at Madras he was welcomed by the Bishop and his clergy as Metropolitan. For the first time he knelt down in his new country and entreated God's grace for himself and those around him.

On March 31 he landed at Calcutta, and, the palace not being ready to receive them, he and his sister were guests of Sir John Lawrence, who was then Viceroy of India, and who from that time remained his firm friend.

The Bishop spent a fortnight with the Viceroy before the Government went to Simla; he then took possession of his own house, and remained in Calcutta during the hot weather. By so doing, as Calcutta was the head-quarters of all the committees and societies, he hoped to become acquainted with many of his clergy in and around the city, and enter fully into the business of the diocese.

Mr. Pratt, the then Archdeacon of Calcutta, who had passed many years of his life in India, was of the greatest service to the Bishop on entering on the heavy duties of the see. He wrote to his sister in May, 'Our Bishop is wonderfully active. I am obliged to remind him that he is fresh from England, and must be careful at this time of year, till he is acquainted with the climate and it with him. He does not mind the heat, and says he regarded a hothouse in England as the perfection of comfort.'

The Bishop's daily life began at six o'clock. He spent some time in his room reading before he walked across to the daily morning prayers at the cathedral, a practice he always kept up, and which became so well known that anyone with a petition or in want of assistance used to waylay him as he walked across

the road. From nine o'clock till two his time was filled up with meetings or business connected with the diocese. Every afternoon one or more Munshís would attend to give him instruction in Hindustani, Bengali, Persian, and Arabic. He soon became a proficient in the first of these languages, having mastered the grammar on his way out.

A ride on horseback, or a drive in an open carriage with his sister, would finish the day, whilst his evenings were devoted to study, usually carried on till about one o'clock in the morning, except when social duties claimed some portion of the evening.

It was then that he found time to study the history and literature of the country, so as to enter into the subtlety of Oriental thought, and in time, in his lectures to the educated natives, to quote passages from their own authors. Clerical meetings were held once a month at the Bishop's house whilst he was in Calcutta, when the clergy met for reading and discussion of some portion of the Scriptures and for matters relative to the spiritual welfare of the diocese. During the last four or five years of the Bishop's life some laymen attended these meetings and took part in the discussion.

Seven or eight months, however, in every year were obliged to be spent in his visitation tours. In hot or cold weather, over a tract of country with an infinite variety of climate, but always more or less trying, the Bishop travelled, keeping to a programme printed and circulated some time before, with scarcely a week at any one place, often only a day.

The fatigue of travelling several thousand miles, as he did, every year (one year he was computed to have gone over ten thousand miles) must have been very great, travelling in every sort of way and in all weathers—by railway, by dak gharri, by bullock cart, by palki, by boat, by trolly, on horseback, on elephants—exposed now to the great heat of the sun, and now to the heavy rain of India.

The amount of work crowded into these tours, and the

physical endurance it entailed, made the Bishop conspicuous even in a country where hard work among officials is the rule, his ready eloquence and stores of learning making it easy for him to answer any demand that might be made upon him to give lectures and addresses. Each year, as the railways and roads multiplied, he put more work into his tours. A writer in an article in the 'Calcutta Review' remarked 'there was always more work to do than the Bishop could do. He was enabled by the greater ease and rapidity of communication to do a much greater amount of work in a shorter time. The easy, pleasant marching, which formed so agreeable a season of retirement to a Bishop in the old time is impossible in these days, when he has to travel by night and work by day.'

Facility of travelling only gave him greater facility for increased labour. He said himself, 'Work as hard as ever I can, it is impossible to get round the diocese in less than three years;' but this increase in the powers of locomotion enabled him to visit some of the larger stations more frequently, such as Allahabad, Agra, Cawnpore, Delhi, Simla, &c., and yet—what his predecessor had not been able to accomplish—return every winter to Calcutta. The same reviewer adds, 'The extent and character of the Bishop's visitation tours have no parallel in the history of an Indian see.'

Of these tours the Bishop kept a daily record. His travels took him over a large portion of India and Burma, to many out-of-the-way places, and among many strange people.

The distances were too great for the busy Europeans, scattered over the vast country, to come to the Bishop at the larger places or towns. If the Bishop did not go to them, they would remain unconfirmed, and the churches and cemeteries in the smaller stations would remain unconsecrated. Many little flocks, from necessity, were left uncared for by any minister of religion. The Bishop's visit would stir them up, and reawaken in their minds thoughts of religion and of their duty to God; and when he penetrated into remote spots he would often leave his

mark in Sunday services begun and carried on by laymen, or in the desire for a church to be built, that at least they might have a proper place in which to assemble themselves together for Divine service.

The Bishop's journals were entirely kept for the spiritual good of his diocese, as a guide to himself at his next visitation of the same place, and to note down the wants of each station and what he could do to assist in supplying them. If an appeal to Government is to be made or a donation to be sent, if a chaplain is thought not equal to the work of a large station or the reverse, if the missions are prospering or want stirring up, all is noted down. Each day's work as it comes is carefully recorded—the consecration of churches and cemeteries, the examination of schools, number of scholars, visits to hospitals and jails, the confirmations and number of candidates, the Sunday services, the number of communicants, the texts of his sermons, the amount of the offertories and to what applied, the addresses to soldiers in hospitals or rooms, the lectures to educated natives, addresses to railway operatives, the lay meetings, the cemeteries inspected, the registers and record books examined at every place. When it is remembered how constantly he travelled by night to work by day, it seems wonderful that he found time not only to keep a daily journal of his work, but that he should have found leisure also to see so much that was worth seeing, and to write down descriptions of both country and people, which, from his great powers of observation, make the journals very interesting. It is all told simply, only written for himself, never meant for the eye of the public, and is a record of unceasing labour and toil, all borne cheerfully and readily in his Master's service.

His intense longing for the conversion of the natives is shown in the pains he took to win them. He gave lectures to the educated natives, speaking openly to them and urging conversion, and yet without giving offence. He sought them socially, for he believed in the power of personal influence. Into

the work of the missions he threw himself heartily, and showed so much interest in the native Christians that they said he was the first bishop who made them feel they also had a bishop. 'He gave dignity to mission work,' was the remark of one of his zealous missionaries. How deeply he felt the want of interest taken in England in the great work amongst the natives appears in his letters home. At first hopeful, he expresses how great the need is of both men and women, how much might be done if only they would come over; but near the end of his life these few touching words appear in his journal after the description of work doing at Bengbari and of how much more might be done: 'Oh for men! Lord, how long!'

In the middle of May 1867 the Bishop left Calcutta for a six weeks' visitation of Burma. The rivers, the great highways of that country, having only sufficient water for the steamers in the summer, this tour had to be made in the hot weather, and when the monsoon had begun to blow in the Bay of Bengal. He encountered very rough weather, and was four days, instead of two, between Akyab and Rangoon.

This visit convinced him that there was a great opening for mission work in that country, and he became most anxious to strengthen the mission in every way, and to raise the tone of those at work amongst the Burmese. He writes to one of the missionaries to beg him 'to impress on a native convert the highest and truest motives for work—the glory of God in the conversion of his fellow-countrymen.' From that time he began to feel a deep interest in the Burmese, 'the kindly and honest people, who like the English and are liked by them.'

But he was shocked at the state of morals he found among the English community, and on his return wrote very strongly to the Government upon this subject. A letter was sent in consequence to the Chief Commissioner of Burma, to desire him to explain to officers that the Government disapproved of such conduct, and that in future it would be considered a hindrance to promotion.

When the Bishop came back to Calcutta on July 1, the heat was great and the weather very trying, but he entered immediately into full work—attended all the many committee meetings, preached every Sunday at different churches, and took the course of monthly sermons on Wednesday evenings at the cathedral, choosing the 'Progress of the Kingdom of Heaven' for his subject.

A visit of two days to Barrackpore, and an expedition to Jhanjra, south of Calcutta, were made soon afterwards; the latter by driving to Tollygunge, a suburb of Calcutta, and then proceeding by boats.

'Curious navigation up canals and over rice-fields for about ten miles. Many strange birds were to be seen; a little church on canal side, where we stranded and landed. We were kept waiting till twelve. One hamlet could not procure a boat, so that thirty-seven candidates for the confirmation were prevented from coming, but there were eighty-eight present. The service was as usual. Vespers up to the end of third collect; hymn, "The Son of God goes forth to war." It made thirteen stanzas in Bengali, wonderfully screamed by the candidates; very earnest and devout, however, they appeared. I managed part of the service and the benediction in Bengali. Mr. Driberg said the rest of the service and interpreted my addresses. God forgive me for undertaking the bishopric without more knowlege of the language.'

'Mr. Driberg interpreted my addresses sentence by sentence, as far as I could judge, with great effect. They sang the "Veni Creator" very much more softly and in better taste, though also to a native tune. I was much struck with the earnestness and simplicity, as well as heartiness and number, of the candidates. Driberg has already 600 communicants, to all of whom last Easter he was ministering Holy Communion from sunrise to sunset.'

The heat was very great during these months of July and August, which the Bishop spent in Calcutta. It tried his health, and he wrote to a friend in England:—

'I have been, not laid up, but poorly, on the verge of a serious illness, which, by God's mercy, I have, I trust, now escaped. I am much better the last two or three days, and hope to resume full work before long. I am learning languages in the intervals of my work. I have written my first Hindustani confirmation addresses. I hope they may prove intelligible, of this I am rather doubtful: and now I am beginning Bengali. I feel that I ought scarcely to have accepted Calcutta without some polyglotism, and I must work to make up the deficiency, though it is late to begin.'

It was during this period of residence in Calcutta that he began the series of conversaziones, to which he invited the native gentlemen to meet the European society of Calcutta.

Only nine years after the close of the Mutiny, there was little kindly feeling between the English and the natives of the country. The Bishop thought it would be 'a means of indirect good,' as he expressed it in a letter to the Bishop of Madras, to draw them more together. With the help of one or two of the leading native gentlemen themselves, and of some of the missionaries, these parties were inaugurated, and became one of the regular features of his sojourn in Calcutta. Dr. Norman McLeod, who was present at one in the following winter, has described it so graphically, in 'Good Words,' that we quote the passage:—

'Nowhere else had I seen in India, though possibly similar meetings may take place, such an assemblage of Europeans and natives of all ranks and professions. The Viceroy and State officers, missionaries, judges, and professors, represented European society, while natives of rank, rajahs, princes, Hindu and Mahomedan, barristers, editors of native papers, represented native society. Here they all met in the house of a Christian bishop, as his friends and guests. How wise, how conciliatory, how Christian, was the idea of such an assemblage. . . . The more we know of the world as it is, the more we feel the vast power of personal intercourse as a means of creating a better understanding between man and man, of increasing charity and destroying

prejudice. Nowhere on earth is this personal intercourse more difficult, and yet nowhere is it more needed, than among the natives and Europeans in India. It is needed between governors and governed . . . between missionaries and those whom they instruct. . . . The meeting at the Bishop's was to me peculiarly pleasing as recognising and, in as far as possible, meeting this great want.'

Native Christian ladies in white veils, Armenian and Greek priests, Parsees, and strangers from many parts of India, or even from the far East, like the King of Siam, used to be present at these assemblies, which, from the gorgeous dress of the natives, their splendid turbans and jewels, formed a striking and brilliant scene in the beautiful house, with its wide verandahs, which the liberality of Bishop Wilson had given to the see of Calcutta.

How successful these gatherings were in making friends with the natives there were many testimonies. They felt the kindness deeply, and especially, as a native paper observed, that there was no difference between the welcome given to the Europeans and themselves.

The Bishop was felt and acknowledged to be their real friend, and in giving his lectures afterwards to the educated natives in all parts of his diocese he was able to speak to them openly and freely as a Christian bishop, with an evident and ardent yearning for their conversion.

A story told by one of the missionaries affords a curious little illustration of the esteem in which these parties were held among the native gentlemen. The missionary had remonstrated with one of the large zemindars[2] near Calcutta about the cruel way in which one of his agents treated the ryots. He could not persuade him to dismiss the man till he said at last, 'Well, I shall tell Miss Milman, and I am sure she will never invite you again to any of the parties at the Palace.' This threat was enough, and the man was dismissed.

[2] Landlord or country squire.

CHAPTER III.

1867.

Visitation Tour of North-West Provinces—First Hindustani Confirmation at Patna—Opium Factory—Address to Educated Natives—Cawnpore Well—Delhi—Umballa—Simla—Lawrence Asylum at Kussowlie—The Dehra Dun—Christian Village of Annfield—First Experience of Elephant-riding—Roorkee—Meerut—Consecration of St. Stephen's Church, Delhi—Address to Educated Natives on Truth—Excursion to the Kootub Minar—Native Services at Delhi—Muttra—Ordination at Agra—Summary from the 'Delhi Gazette' of the Bishop's Address to Educated Natives—Visit to the Taj—Cawnpore—Lucknow—Arrival of the Viceroy—Grand Entry, 570 Elephants—Levee—Bazaar Preaching—Durbar—Allahabad—Prize-giving at High School—Benares—Address in Jay Narain College Hall on Faith—Visit to the Golden Temple—Increase of Railways, and their Employés a Source of Anxiety to the Bishop—Visit to Taljhari, in Santhalia, and Confirmation there—Wish to Appoint throughout the Diocese Church Councils, to be composed of Laymen—Chaplains in India not Army Chaplains—Bishop's First Charge.

IN the month of August the arrangements for the Bishop's visitation to the North-West Provinces were made.

The Government sent directions to the different local authorities to assist the Bishop in every way on his visitation tours, due notice having been sent beforehand by his chaplain.

In many places where, though there might be roads, there were no post carriages, private conveyances had to be borrowed. When there were no roads practicable for carriages, and journeys had to be made in palkis[1] or doolies, bearers had to be provided at the different stages, often on a journey of seventy or eighty miles. And these had to be changed many times, often in the night.

Thus previous arrangements were always necessary, and when

[1] A kind of palankeen.

these were not well made the Bishop was put to great inconvenience, and was often delayed, when he could ill spare the time.

Some details of the first tours are given to enable the reader to understand in some measure the nature of the work and the different modes of travelling over the great extent of country the Bishop had to traverse.

Of the later journeys only a sketch or abstract is given, with some of the descriptions of people and places.

At Patna, an old city adjoining the European station of Bankipore, there is a S. P. G. mission, and there the Bishop held, on August 30, his first Hindustani confirmation. Five months after he had landed in the country, and little more than seven since he was appointed to the see, he read the addresses, which he had written himself in Hindustani, and when he inspected the orphanage he catechised the boys in the same language.

After he had inspected the cemeteries he visited the Government schools and college, examining the first-class students in metaphysics, and went through the studies of the different classes. He then went to the opium factory, which employs at times more than 3,000 hands. It is beautifully situated on the bank of the river. The whole plant—leaves, stalks, &c.—is used in the manufacture. The opium for China is prepared in round, that for India in cubical, cakes, and was then valued at nearly 5,000,000*l.*

He attended a public meeting, at which the appointment of a lay committee or churchwardens, the desirability of establishing Sunday schools, and other subjects, were discussed.

In his journal he writes, 'In the evening I addressed the enquirers, as the educated natives who are at least thinking about religion are commonly denominated. I took the line of nobility of inquiry befitting men as God's creatures, and leading, as in Justin Martyr, to rest. Doctrine of Holy Trinity unspeakably comfortable in the present astonishing discoveries of science. They were very attentive, although I spoke for

more than an hour, and directly preached Christianity toward the end of my address. May it bear fruit. About 200 were present. It is remarkable that men from bigoted Patna should listen thus patiently and quietly, and at least seem pleased with what they heard.'

The account of the first Sunday is given without any omission to show how he always noted what was done.

'*September* 1, *Sunday.*—Early service at Dinapore. Matins to end of third collect. English confirmation; 40 candidates (12 soldiers). I made two addresses. Afterwards administered Holy Communion; 83 communicants. People at both services very attentive and devout, and giving strong proof of the great care and earnestness of the chaplain, Mr. Carruthers. The extreme wetness of the morning thinned the general congregation.

'Returned to Bankipore in time for service, with Holy Communion at 11. Preached from first lesson, "Went not my heart with thee?" and at 7 at Bankipore from Ps. viii., "Out of the mouths of babes." Good congregations.

'On the 2nd I inspected the cantonment cemeteries at Dinapore. I was much pleased with the officers' care of them, and thankful for it. I visited and addressed the convalescents in hospital, and examined Eurasian and military schools—small, but tolerably good. Had a lay meeting at Dinapore, the General and others present. The General spoke strongly and ably in favour of a church committee, which was generally acceptable.'

The weather was intensely hot, and the Bishop left at night for Cawnpore, where he remained a day, and distributed prizes at the mission school and addressed the meeting; about 500 present, with many European and native gentry.

'Afterwards we drove round the beautiful gardens and the Memorial Well—a finely carved octagonal stone fence, with fine iron gates, cast at Roorkee, and in the centre the Well of the Massacre, with Marochetti's angel in white marble standing

over it. The moon was rising in a soft purple sky, and sent its rays through the arcaded enclosure, and shone gradually on the cross, the head, and also beneath on the feet and robe of the white marble angel. It had a very solemn and peculiar effect, and you almost seemed to hear the murmur of voices, and to see the shapes of the dead in the deep underneath, in their quiet rest and peace, after the fearful turmoil and agony of their death.

'It is well kept, as is also the large garden round it, through the care and taste of Mr. Lance.'

On the 5th he proceeded to Delhi, where he only remained a few hours, as the visitation of that city was to take place on his return. This was the first and only time the Bishop halted so much on his journey to Delhi, for when the railway was extended he used to go to Umballa, a distance of over 1,100 miles, without stopping. It was the last remnant of the old episcopal rate of travelling.

After Delhi the Bishop had his first experience of a dak gharri, a sort of small, rough, but not uncomfortable post carriage, in which he was, in the course of the next few years, to travel many weary miles.

These dak gharris, or post carriages, on many roads are now in the hands of Government, but in 1867 they belonged to native contractors, and the horses, though frequently changed, were poor animals, that often would first refuse to move, and then would start off at a gallop in the most reckless manner.

The first night that the Bishop's party left Delhi was dark, and before they reached Kurnal, a distance of seventy miles, they were run into by three different vehicles, and Mr. Burge, the chaplain, who was in the last carriage, was upset. The accident was not seen by those in front, and he did not arrive till three hours later than the rest of the party, whom he found vainly seeking repose in the heat of the day at a dak bungalow, or Government rest-house.

The deputy commissioner at this place, hearing of the

accident, sent a sowar, or guard, on horseback with the Bishop for the rest of the journey. Another night's travelling brought them to Umballa at 4 A.M. It was Sunday, so, after a brief rest, at 6 A.M. the Bishop went to the morning service and preached.

Umballa is a favourite quarter for the army, from its proximity to the hills, but the Bishop did not stop there more than the day, as all these places were included in his return journey. Now he was bound for the hills, to leave his sister to recruit her strength.

After evening service, when the Bishop preached for the second time, the night was again spent in a dak gharri, fording two rivers, which, at that season, after the rains, had a considerable amount of water in them. At the first river the horses were taken out, and bullocks drew the carriages through the water. At the second a number of coolies, or labourers, were ready, and, with a great noise of talking, screaming, and shouting, drew one carriage after the other through the river.

Kalka, at the foot of the hills, was reached on the morning of the 9th, and, after three hours' delay for breakfast and to pack the luggage on mules and on the heads of coolies, the whole party started for the ascent of the mountains, the Bishop riding a pony sent down to meet him by a friend, the others in *janpans*, a kind of chair on poles, carried by coolies. The ascent to Dugshai—eighteen miles—seemed endless to most of the tired travellers, who had not passed a night in bed since leaving Cawnpore on the 5th.

The Bishop was the freshest of the party, able to enjoy the mountain air and, on reaching Dugshai, to do all the work of the station—to hold a confirmation, visit hospitals and schools, and consecrate the cemetery.

They left Dugshai on the 12th, the whole party riding on ponies lent to them at Dugshai, and reached Simla the next day. The road winds round the hills and gorges. In some

places the rocks are blasted to make room for the road, which is not wide enough for vehicles of any kind.

They took possession of the Red House, 'the garden of which commanded a grand view over the inferior ranges to the great snow-line, about a hundred miles away.'

The Bishop remained at Simla till the 25th. He inspected the site and buildings erecting for Bishop Cotton's school, which was to be moved to Simla from an inconvenient spot at Jutog, five miles distant.

'The situation of the new buildings is very grand, on a spur of the mountain, with fine air, scenery, and playgrounds for the boys. Everything to make them into sturdy men and imaginative poets. The head master told me he had sixty applicants even now more than he could admit.'

'On Sunday there were nearly 300 communicants, most of the candidates recently confirmed among them. I was very thankful to see so many together at the Holy Supper. The offertory and collection amounted to about 1,400 rupees, to be given to the missionary societies.'

Besides the work at Simla the Bishop rode out to Mahassoo, and had a fine view of the mountains, and also made an expedition to the waterfalls, 'which are but tiny droppings in such fine scenery.' Leaving his sister for a few weeks, he went by the shorter road to the plains, making a halt at Kussowlie another hill station, on his way. He rode or walked the whole distance.

'We soon left the Deodara forests, which overshadow Simla, and changed them for mountain pines, like the stone pine, and then for bleaker mountains. The Simla and other hills are about 7,000 or 8,000 feet high, but, on the whole, though large and with fine views of the snowy range, they are rather monotonous, wanting the rushing stream, the towering precipice, the abrupt crag, the deep gorge, the Alpine variety of landscape.'

'Near Kussowlie is an asylum for soldiers' children, one of

the many memorials of that excellent and able man Sir H. Lawrence. I found 476 boys and girls. The whole tone and education of the schools, as well as the arrangements, appeared to me admirable. The healthy looks and heartiness of the scholars were pleasant to contemplate.'

'At a lay meeting, besides discussing the church committee, which all wished for, a Christian village, to be planted on waste land given by Government, was recommended by some of the laymen, as in the North-West and Punjab converts are still exposed to innumerable difficulties. No Hindus or Mahomedans will deal with them or employ them.'

The Bishop descended to the plains (about 6,000 feet) to Kalka on horseback, and then drove to Umballa to spend Sunday.

'*September* 29.—At the morning service, being Michaelmas Day, I preached on "There was war in heaven," but my voice was nearly drowned by sparrows.[2] In the evening I confirmed 119 candidates, chiefly soldiers, and warned them especially against spiritual cowardice. At the little native chapel I said prayers, and spoke a few Hindustani words. The catechist then read, and exhorted the people under my direction. Two Sikh priests, converts, were present among others.'

From Umballa the Bishop made a journey across country to Mussourie. The first part of this journey was made at night by palki dak, a sort of palankeen carried by bearers, who are changed every six or seven miles.

October 1.—The Jumna was crossed early in the morning, and a carriage belonging to a neighbouring rajah took the Bishop on to Saharanpore, where the Government has a stud and botanical gardens. Almost all the European residents were gone to the hills, but one was found to give him hospitality and help him on his way. When the high roads were left, no dak gharris were to be found, though there were roads to travel on.

[2] In India, in consequence of all the doors and windows being open, there are often a great number of birds in the churches.

'After a pleasant dinner in Mr. Webster's tent we started for Rajpur, crossing the Suwallic hills, a low range divided from the lowest spurs of the Himalayas, of most fantastic shape, and covered mostly with forest and jungle. When the morning [October 2] dawned, we rode up the mountain to Mussourie, and were hospitably received by General Cumberlege, in his beautiful house, commanding a magnificent view, on the one side toward the great snow range, and on the other across the Dun and beyond the Suwallics over the great Ganges valley, or rather boundless plain.'

'The effects of light and shade from the height are most striking. Often there is a single opening in a great mass of universal mist, through which a portion of the plain shines like a picture in a frame, with its shadowy towns, and rivers, and forests, appearing as in a well-executed miniature, with singular precision and distinctness.'

'From Landour, a military convalescent station, the highest point of the ridge on which Mussourie is planted, there is a grand view of the snowy range, and Gangootri and Jumnootri, all perfectly clear and distinct.'

Here, as at Simla, he found schools for boys and girls of European origin, all wanting enlargement. The mission work he entered into, and recommended the missionary 'to promote native pastorates under his superintendence in the several stations near.'

From Mussourie he wrote to a sister in England:—

'The missionary work out here is very interesting, but I doubt if it is very satisfactorily carried on. I shall see more of it on my way to Calcutta, and be more competent to judge of it by degrees.

'It is rather hard work to write a sermon in Hindustani, but I have just finished one—I fear very unidiomatic, but I hope intelligible.'

The usual work of confirmations, visits to schools, hospitals, &c., having been completed, the Bishop (October 8) rode down

the mountain to Jeŕa Pani, and then proceeded by palki dak as far as Rajpur, walking, however, great part of the way, as he had not then got reconciled to the palki travelling.

Dak gharris took them to Dehra Dun, where they dined and slept, the next day going the first twelve miles in a buggy, and, when the road grew too rough to drive, on elephants to Annfield, a Christian village belonging to Major Rind.

'It was my first ride on one of these beasts; it is not a very comfortable mount, but decidedly useful. The care which the huge animal takes, and the ease and quietness with which he walks up and down steep watercourses and other impediments, is very singular. You get also all the air that is to be got on the height of his back. The elephant's pace varies from about four to six miles an hour.'

'The ride was beautiful, from the changing aspect of the neighbouring mountains, at the foot of which Annfield is situated.'

'On Thursday I held a confirmation for the native Christians. The service was excellently done, and the singing of the natives very good. They were attentive and devout. The school chapel is altogether inadequate to the needs of the congregation, which will probably grow and multiply. It is most desirable that a church should be built speedily.'

'I had as much talk as I could manage with the native catechist and Christian men and children. The whole visit was very interesting, and I was much pleased with this instance of a Christian village in the midst of the vast surrounding heathendom. I understood that the agriculturists now paid their rent without objection, and had given up the unhappy notion of earthly advantages to accrue from their Christianity. The converts seemed happy and flourishing, and to do their work heartily and readily. Major Rind's tea plantations and manufactory were very flourishing, and the tea very good. Cotton also grows well, but he said he had no time to spare for its cultivation.

'The Dun is certainly wonderfully fertile. Wild elephants were about in the night, and guns were firing from time to time to keep them from the rice and sugar plantations.'

'After consecrating a cemetery for the village on Friday, we returned by elephants and buggy to Dehra, whence, after a short stay, we started for the Mohun Pass. We drove to the foot of the pass, and then, taking our palkis with us, walked through it to enjoy the scenery. It is about eight miles through the pass, and the scenery exceedingly beautiful. Looking back as you mount near the top of the hill, you get lovely views of the lower Himalayas through the wild precipices and rich foliage of trees and creepers. The rivers, unfortunately, were quite dry; otherwise it would have been much more beautiful. We reached the top, and passed through the tunnel nearly at sunset. On the descent we were overtaken by Mr. Webster, and engaged by him to tea at his tent at the foot of the pass.'

'The descent is very fine also—strange peaks, cliffs, woods overhanging the roads, beds of rivers, all mingled in strange confusion, only wanting water. A very wild-looking country, though the road is good and practicable for carriages.'

'We heard the deer crying, and were told afterwards that a tiger was roaring in the pass a little before our passage through it. The deer cry when a tiger or leopard is moving in the forest.'

'We reached Mohun at 8 P.M., when Mr. Webster kindly received us in his tent. It was very fortunate that we met with him; for gharris, horses, harness, drivers, and Munshís had all disappeared, hid in houses or fled into the jungle. It was only by the greatest exertion that Mr. Webster and Burge found conveyances (not those which should have been there) to take us over to Roorkee.

'The scene, under the full moon, at the encampment was very striking among the fine trees on the *maidan*.[3]

'We started at 10, and reached Roorkee without mishap at 3 A.M., and went at once to bed in the chaplain's house.'

[3] Plain.

At Roorkee there is a Government college for civil engineers, at which boys out of the different hill schools compete for entrance.

'I went over the workshops, and was much struck with the mounds of swords, gun barrels, &c., surrendered after the Mutiny, now being worked up into the native spades. The machinery was very good. The wood circular saws were not at work. The canal is a fine object and the station is pretty.'

There is a S. P. G. mission at Roorkee, which, though small, gave the Bishop some additional work. Another night of travelling under 'the glorious full moon' took him and his chaplain to Meerut, where there is a large cantonment as well as a great mission belonging to the Church Missionary Society. There he found Sunday schools, Scripture readers, soldiers' school chapel, hospitals, and schools, all well arranged and in full work. The services were well done, both English and native, the singing good, and the mission work very earnest and promising. At the native confirmation of sixty-two candidates the Bishop made his addresses again in Hindustani

'I visited the mission school, to distribute cards of merit. One of the editors of a Meerut native paper read an address; an essay in English was read and "Sennacherib" (Byron's) recited. I gave the cards and made an English address.'

'Talked with native gentry a very little afterwards (*Deus det linguarum scientiam*).'

'The assembly was large, many natives beside the scholars and scholars from out-station schools being present.

'At five I laid the foundation stone of the new Church of St. Thomas. The service, which I had sent, was translated by Mr. Hoernle. Hymns, Te Deum, and Glorias sung. The service was very striking in the open air and cool of the day. A throng of English and natives. I made a written address in Hindustani, which I hope was understood. Afterwards the catechists were presented to me by Mr. Hoernle and Paul, the native pastor.

His son is a teacher, not yet a Christian, but endeavouring to gain courage. I urged *mazbuti*[4] on him.

'May God bless the work and labour of love which the family of the Hoernles are showing forth here. There seems a great hope that Christianity will spread far and wide. I trust the service and the Church, when it rises, will help forward this great work.'

From Meerut the Bishop went to Delhi, where, besides his labour amongst the Europeans, he again had work for the mission belonging to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, one feature of which was the consecration of the mission church dedicated to St. Stephen, built in memory of those who fell in the Mutiny. It is an excellent and beautiful building, well adapted to the climate, with a cloister opening to the church, in which the heathens who are inquirers can be at the services. The Bishop preached extempore in Hindustani, and, he says, was 'partially understood.'

'I went to the mission college, and made my address on Truth, as the aggregate of all facts, and especially eternal facts and our relations to them. A good attendance of native gentry; rather too many boys, who got tired of a language which they did not understand.'

'I spoke for an hour and a half. I heard afterwards that the natives received the address well, and that it was well adapted for the missionaries' object in asking for it. *Deus misereatur.*'

He made an excursion starting before the dawn, to the Kutub Minar, eleven miles from Delhi.

'We drove through the noted waste of ruins, not exactly awful, as Heber calls it, at least in appearance, but rather melancholy, calling up the line "Ipsis data fata sepulchris," at every yard. You gather an idea of the five cities from Indrapat (or Indraprastha) to Toghlahabad, as you make this drive, and return as we did by Humayun's tomb.

'The Kutub is very magnificent, from its great size, fine

[4] Strength.

material, and elaborate workmanship. The curious grooving, alternate semicircles, and rectangles, in the three lowest stories have a striking effect in the light and shade they produce. The balconies above the rich projecting cornices which carry them are poor. The fourth story, with its white marble, carried round in a streaky way, is, I think, a blemish, producing a sense of incongruity and interruption in the ascent of the eye up the column. The upper story is better, and then the top is lacking. The column is now 238 feet high. The top is judged by Mr. Fergusson to have been about 20 feet higher, and its base about 4 feet. The modern top, which was first erected, and then wisely taken down, stands near, on a little stone platform, a waste of design and money, representing what is too often Albion's method: good ideas, bad designs, and wasted expenditure, the result, a little ugly modern ruin, in the midst of splendid remains of bygone taste and magnificence. There are great ruined arches which led into the grand old mosque when it existed. The court which was in front of it, built of fragments of Hindu temples, most of the pillars formed out of two Hindu pillars, the top and bottom manifestly differing, but well and harmoniously put together, is very beautiful and strange. The carving of some of them is still deep and clear, though the human figures in it seem mostly mutilated. The whole is kept in good order now, and will escape further injury. The view of the great column through and above the pillars and their coping is very striking. There is a most beautiful arch-way, which I imagine led up to the court. Its shape, carving and ornaments are all excellent. A stair leads down from it, and one can go on to Adam Khan's tomb, which stands on a high platform, with its dome and court, and a splendid view over the near and distant wilderness of ruins. General Cunningham's account of the five cities, or kile, is very full and accurate. There are also guide-books at Delhi, which give details, more or less trustworthy, of these wonderful remains.'

'We drove back, by Humayun's tomb and Nizam Uddeen's.

The latter especially remarkable for its elaborate marble carving and tracery. The former has its court and rises with its three Saracenic arches in red stone and white marble, with its dome and minarets. The white dome is a very conspicuous object far and wide. There were countless other tombs and ruins on either side of the road home, and the *puráná kilá*[5] said to be a den of the *badmashes*,[6] round about Delhi. It had a cut-throat appearance as we drove by it.'

'The Jumma Musjid at Delhi is very fine; the platform, court-yard, and cloister round it, of red sandstone. Façade of great arch and two fine minarets of marble and sandstone very grand, the views through the cloister arches beautiful, and the work-manship good. The courtyard is said to hold 10,000 people, and on great Mahomedan festivals to be full of worshippers.'

In the early morning of Sunday, the Bishop went to the native service.

'I celebrated. Tara Chand preached, a goodly number of native converts attended, whose manner was very devout. I could not follow the sermon well. God be merciful, and aid me to acquire the language. I conversed with Tara Chand and other natives; they say the Mahomedans are very agitated and controversial, religious, not political disquiet. The Moulvie, a Wahabi, rather a striking preacher, denounces missions. Tara Chand is bringing out a controversial magazine to which I subscribed. I had much interesting conversation with him. He appears able and straightforward, and simple in character. The Winters are devoted and energetic. Mrs. Winter perhaps expects everyone to labour as hard, and be as self-denying as herself, which may not always be the case, but the mission is doing its work faithfully and admirably. May God give his blessing to the work.'

'On Monday, the 21st, started by rail (after writing letters) and reached Agra at night, proceeding at once to Muttra by dak gharri in about six hours (22nd); went to Colonel Seymour's,

[5] Old fort. [6] Ruffians.

of the Queen's Bays, who is commanding at Muttra, and went to bed for two hours.'

'After holding a confirmation I visited the mission schools, which seemed thriving. The town is large, 40,000 inhabitants, mostly rather bigoted Hindus. The school is an offshoot from Agra. I met at the school some native Christians, and had some conversation with them. After answering letters, we took a pleasant drive with Colonel Seymour; the bay horses of the regiment, etc., were shown to us.'

'We had a lay-meeting, at which the usual points were discussed, and we dined afterwards with Colonel Seymour and the mess of the Bays, a remarkably pleasant and gentlemanly set of officers, and as far as I could judge interested in the real welfare of the men.'

'About 10 P.M., we started on our return drive to Agra, reaching it at 3.40 A.M. and went to bed for three hours.'

This simple record of work with two hours' rest one night, and three hours the next, and no observation about it, is very characteristic both of the Bishop and his journal.

At Agra, besides the work of confirmations for English and natives, inspection of schools, hospitals, etc., there was an ordination of four European missionaries, the Bishop setting the papers and taking himself the *vivâ voce* examination in Greek.

'The answers, although not striking, were, on the whole, above the *average* in England, except in Greek, and there was much sense and thought showed, and, I trust, proofs of true devotion and diligence also. Each day at the mission chapel I made an address to the candidates for Holy Orders, taking 2 Tim. i. 7, the spirit "of power, and of love and of a sound mind" as text, and preaching first on the power, secondly the spirit of love in the priest or missionary, and thirdly on the "sound mind," insisting on the pattern of Christ, on need of soundness in doctrine, church life and personal piety. *Deus benedicat.*'

Two evenings, he went to a kind of lecture or prayer meet-

ing in a private house, one for Eurasians, the other in the city, for natives alone. He spoke a few words himself at each.

'I addressed in English in the school hall native inquirers; about two hundred and fifty present. Subject "Truth," people very attentive. Mr. Prickard and a few other English were present. There is a report, brief and accurate in some measure, in the "Delhi Gazette." I must be slower and more distinct still. *Deus misereatur.*'

This remark was, no doubt, entered in his journal after he had read the report of his address in the paper he mentions, in which the address is described as:—

'Most impressive, an intellectual treat one does not often get in this country. Admirably adapted as the subject was to the audience, one felt some misgivings lest the solemn truths uttered by the speaker, his close and metaphysical meaning, might be a little lost on the native portion of the audience. It is difficult to follow a fluent speaker in a foreign language, unless you are very familiar indeed with it; and the Bishop's delivery is such that rather close attention is always requisite on the part of English and educated listeners. Certainly if his address was understood by the native portion of the audience—and it, no doubt, was thoroughly understood by some, and partially, perhaps, by all, for they were all very attentive indeed—it cannot fail to make a deep impression on their minds; out of the whole circle of metaphysical and physical science, classics, history, or religion, he assuredly could not have selected a question more adapted for his hearers than this momentous one, "What is Truth?" the question once asked on that memorable question, either in derision or incredulity. Does truth consist in the results of scientific enquiry? In the revelation of the laws of nature or the researches of science? Is it money? Is it the possession of the power and influence wealth gives? Is it knowledge? What is it—Truth? It has been defined by a great writer to be the total sum of realities or the greatest aggregate of facts. But that, after all, was no

definition, it only brought you a step farther on. What realities? What facts? The realities of science, of the visible external creation, were they Truth? The facts of our existence, of our daily life, were they Truth? To illustrate the conclusion to which the mind was led when adapting either of these hypotheses, he should read the opinions of the great English writers side by side. These writers, holding the facts of the material world to be the highest truth, divested man of his individuality, of his consciousness, of all that made existence valuable, and represented him a mere machine, less than a machine, a mere grain of dust upon the wheel of that vast machinery that composed the universe, a helpless speck of dust, an atom in the vast system, whose conditions of existence were regulated and controlled by certain fixed and unchangeable laws. Was this a conclusion that would satisfy the soul of man? Was this a result that would fill up the void in his heart? Was this enough to satisfy those yearnings after immortality, after something infinitely greater and better than this material world could offer, which every man feels within himself. Was this Truth? The Bishop then went on to tell them what Truth was, what those great facts were which were worthy of the name of Truth, viz. the fact of the existence of God, of man's relation to God, of his immortality. These were facts with which he and they stood face to face, facts which they were all concerned in realising, in comparison with which all worldly knowledge, all the discoveries of science, all the wealth of the earth, were as nothing. These would all pass away with life, but beyond life there was a Heaven and a Hell, an eternity of happiness or misery awaiting every individual man, and his relation to these facts was a truth worth studying. He was far from underrating the value of secular knowledge, but that knowledge, that education, which did not teach a man to realise the importance of these eternal truths, was as nothing in comparison with them. He besought his audience to weigh well, each man for himself, the question, "What is Truth?" and not to rest satisfied with

anything short of it. When a man had found the Truth, he was at peace; when he had found it he felt the value of it, and that enabled him to do all, to dare all things for it. He then showed how the Truth was the religion of the Gospel, and concluded with an earnest exhortation that all who heard him would study that Gospel and the life of our Lord, with an earnest, honest desire to learn the truths that were contained in it. [This is a very imperfect and much diluted *résumé* of a powerful and forcible address, delivered with all the eloquence of earnestness and enthusiasm. I can imagine no subject better adapted to win the attention of such an audience as the Bishop was addressing. I am sure it made a great and, I trust, a lasting impression on all who understood it. Free from bigotry, free from every allusion that could hurt the feelings, or irritate a believer in another faith than the Christian, it seemed to me the ideal of missionary teaching. So I can imagine Bishop Milman's great predecessor preaching to attentive multitudes in the market-place at Athens on the text, "Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you."]'

This short report is given, as much interest is felt in these lectures of the Bishop, which formed part of his work at all the large cities. They were in English, always delivered extempore, often without any notes, or, if he had any, they were only of the very slightest description.

A little leisure was found to visit the Taj, the tomb which Shah Jehan erected to contain the remains of his favourite wife: 'A wonderfully beautiful building. The white marble façade, dome, and minarets towered up gracefully against the morning sky. The garden and dark-foliaged trees presented a striking contrast with, and avenue to, the great front. When the old cypresses die (as they are about to do) fresh ones will come in which have been planted farther back. The opening will be wider, and this will be an improvement. The passion for these great tombs is a remarkable trait in the India of the time and its dynasties.'

In describing it another year, he wrote:—

'One evening the Taj was lighted up for us both outside and inside. The effect is perfectly marvellous. The inside beauties of inlaid work and carving, the wonderful pierced marble screen round the tomb, the lacework in marble of the tomb, and the beautiful mosaic upon them, all came out in strange and exquisite loveliness. Outside, the blue light from the minarets brought out the dome, and themselves, and all the smaller cupolas in magical light against the dark night sky. Mrs. Sleeman, when her husband asked her what she thought of the Taj, said that she knew not how to describe it, but that if she could have such another tomb built over her, she would die to-morrow! a curious expression of admiration. But the building and the whole construction, the garden, the two mosques, the minarets, the walls, seem to grow more and more upon you the more you see them in every condition, and in every aspect, and in every light: sunlight, moonlight, starlight, firelight. Yet the whole seems also a waste of work and beauty for no particular object, as the mosque is the only utilitarian result, and that would hold no great number, and seems a mere subsidiary afterthought.'

'I visited the Fort on the side of the Jumna, a beautiful building, with the Moti Musjid palace, Akbar's hall of audience, now an armoury, fine gardens, courtyards, marble work, etc. Before the inlaid work had been picked out and stolen, it must have been finer still. There are subterranean passages by which it is supposed thieves enter. We drove through the city. The streets and markets are very picturesque.'

From Agra, the Secundra Native Industrial School and Orphanage were visited.

'They are the orphans left from the famine in 1860, but their numbers are constantly filling up. There are 347 now. I went over the various workshops, printing, paper-making, carpentering, smithery, &c. It seemed to me a wonderfully complete and well-conducted establishment. The girls marry

and are sought after. There is some difficulty in finding work for the artisans; most of the pupils looked healthy, but there are some blind, and some that still show the effects of the famine. Indeed, many "famine orphans" rally only to die within no great space of time. The blind had been taught to read from the raised letter books. I heard one read a parable very fluently from the Hindustani Gospel. After all my work was over, I visited Akbar's tomb, with its three red and one white marble stages, and admired the beautiful court and the lovely carved marble tombs. There is a little richly-carved stand at the head of Akbar's tomb, where the "Koh-i-nur" is said to have been placed under a golden canopy in a golden case.'

On the journey to Cawnpore on the 29th, a few hours were given to Toondla, the station where large railway works are carried on, and many railway employés live. The time was spent in services, and in examining the sites of vicarage, school, and church. The two former were begun, and all much needed.

At Cawnpore the same round of work was gone through, both English and missionary; the mission schools here, as at Agra, the Bishop found efficient as to learning, but very unsatisfactory as to Christian results.

Near Cawnpore there is another Native Orphanage and Industrial School, where one of the manufactures was aloe matting, which white ants will not touch. A Christian native lady was in charge of the girls' school. Here again, 'there is no difficulty in marrying the girls, or in finding employment for the lads.'

The Memorial Church was still only about a foot above ground. The Government had taken over the funds which had been collected for its erection soon after the suppression of the Mutiny, but from press of work in building barracks, the building of the church had nearly stopped. The Bishop made a strong representation to the Government on the subject, an engineer was added to the overworked staff at Cawnpore, and the building of the church was proceeded with.

'I gave a lecture to enquirers on Truth, in part the same address as at Agra. About one hundred and fifty present, and remarkably attentive. I am told it was intelligible to those who heard it. The beautiful gardens round the well of sad memories made a quiet drive for the cool of the evening, and refreshing after the day's work.'

Lucknow was reached on November 4. There are many educational establishments at this place, all of which were visited and examined by the Bishop. One of these is called the Martinière, after General Martin, a Frenchman, who left a large sum of money to found this school, together with one at Calcutta, which also bears his name, and one in his own country. He lies buried at Lucknow, in a tomb in the centre of a tank of water in the precincts of the school.

The mission schools were numerous, well taught and well attended, but still with the same Christian fruit, 'little, though that little good.'

The Viceroy arrived while the Bishop was at Lucknow, to hold a great Durbar.

'We went to see the grand entry of the Viceroy, 570 elephants moving in solemn silence with magnificent howdahs. The Viceroy rode a huge elephant, under a gilt umbrella. He dismounted near the Residency and stood near the same spot where his brother, Sir Henry Lawrence, had lost his life ten years before, defending the Residency, with a handful of Englishmen. Now the Viceroy stood there, and the nobles and Talookdars of Oudh filed before him.'

'The native gentry say, there never was such a *tamasha*[1] even in the old days of Oudh royalty. It certainly was *very* fine. The dust was completely laid, and there was no *contre-temps* of any kind. We saw the procession first from a stand quite close, and then from the Residency, at a little distance.'

'On Monday, I attended the Viceroy's levée at 11 o'clock,

[1] Spectacle, *fête* or show.

my first levée. English people first presented, then Oudh Princes, then Lucknow people. At 4 I went with two of the missionaries to hear the Bazaar preaching at the usual station in the city. One of the catechists was preaching when we arrived. One of the missionaries followed, then another catechist, then the second missionary. A young Mussulman, grinning defiantly for some time, at last began to answer by asking the missionary who had spoken last to account for the origin of evil. *Gunah ke kaun bais* [8] (as Celsus might have done to Origen). The answers were from Genesis i., not practical, or rough and ready enough, to my thinking. The appeal to human punishments, to the neighbouring jail, would have been (I think) wiser, but then I have no experience, and do not yet know the native order (or disorder) of thought. The scene certainly made me realise "the Acts" more than I have done.'

'Query, is it wise to begin with the doctrine of the "conclusion of all under sin"? I must think over these points more and more. *Deus det sapientiam!*'

'The young objector seemed more a disputant than serious, but stuck to his point. The preaching ended by our withdrawing quietly. The people were quite still and orderly, perhaps (the missionary thought) more so than usual, from my being present. They (even the non-Christians) seem to have a curious reverence for the Bishop's office here, chiefly religious (or superstitious) I think. I meet with many unexpected evidences of this, which English people would hardly credit.'

'We (my sister, who had joined me at Cawnpore, and self) with the clergy, dined in the great tent with the Viceroy and Lady Lawrence, before Lady Lawrence's reception in the Lal Bara Dara, a beautiful room, the Oudh King's coronation-room, with clustered pillars, red, with white capitals, and bands and Alhambra-like arches, very well lighted with glass chandeliers, a very beautiful spectacle. Many native gentry were present.'

[8] What is the cause of sin?

The Bishop was at the Viceroy's Durbar, on the 13th, and at the Talookdar's fête in the evening at the Kaiser bagh.

'The illuminations were a little past, but the fireworks were good, and the rooms had a beautiful appearance. The hosts were attentive, the scene gorgeous. The great square was full of people seeing the fireworks, and under the white moonlight and the contrasted glare of the various combustibles, was a peculiarly striking scene.'

The Bishop had got through most of his work of confirmations, visits to hospitals, etc., before the Viceroy arrived on the 9th. On Sunday, the 10th, he preached to crowded congregations at both English churches in the morning, and in the afternoon in Hindustani at the mission church, where he says 'the Viceroy and others were unexpectedly present.'

He winds up his daily record of his visit to Lucknow thus:

'Lucknow is a very interesting place, a city of between two and three hundred thousand people, looking well clad (in their way) and comfortably off. I have not seen any other place where there was so much educational activity, or in which the fruits were so promising, intellectually and socially. The Goomtee is rather a pretty river, the stone and iron bridges, the various buildings, domes and minarets, the Wingfield Park, the Botanical Gardens, the Residency cemetery, where there are many interesting tombs, Sir Henry Lawrence's memorial and Outram's in the church, the Secundarabagh, the memories of the siege and deliverance, the feudal aspect of the "Barons and Squires," or talookdars and zemindars, the fact of the sovereignty having so lately passed from native hands, with the intellectual energy of the people, and the good management of the English, make Lucknow a place of singular attraction.'

'I am also glad to have seen a Durbar here, such as no other place could supply.'

Lucknow was left by railway. Allahabad, *viâ* Cawnpore, was the next place (14th) on the tour.

'Allahabad is a thriving and growing place. When the Bombay railway is completed, it will probably increase still more in extent and importance, especially as the High Court is to be moved to it from Agra. The military force is also likely to be increased considerably, both as a depôt and a station.

'I have been very thankful to find in it much good work carried on. Missions on the whole successful, much interest felt in them by the chaplains and the laity. The services in the church and in the fort are earnest and good. It is also a good arrangement that the mission services are carried on in Trinity Church, as it tends to promote unity and good feeling between ourselves and native Christians.'

A large and influential lay meeting was held, when the question of church accommodation was discussed. It was thought best to have two new churches, one in Cantonments, one for the District and Railway, and to have a temporary service in a building named for the purpose. A committee was formed to carry out the suggestion.

The first day, the Bishop gave away the prizes at the High School and Free Schools, before a large assembly of the parents and friends of the children, and made an address. He then went to the mission schools and examined them, and made a short address to the Native Christians at the dinner given by Mr. Davis.

'About 450 sat down, who seemed happy and affectionate. In the evening, I gave an address in the assembly rooms to a number of native educated Baboos and gentry. The subject "Man." The room was not lighted and there was some delay, which a little disturbed me. They were, however, very attentive, and two native gentlemen returned thanks with considerable tact.'

'16*th*.—I visited and walked through the native Christian village, which was clean and well laid out. About 80 families, principally employed about the mission press, reside there. Afterwards I addressed the employés of the E. I. Railway in

their Library; about 150 were present. I preached up courtesy and sobriety, as Christian testimony in a heathen land.'

'A number of the native zemindars and sharrafs, all speaking English, came to see me, and I had much interesting conversation with them.'

The consecration of the church was added to all his usual work at this place, which he left on the 18th, travelling by rail to Chunar 'which we reached at 4 A.M., and went to bed for three hours and a half.'

19*th*.—He then rose and held a native confirmation at eight o'clock, an English one at eleven, followed by Holy Communion.

'We went to the fort on the banks of the river, a fine situation and rather fine building. The Ganges here rolls in one bed, and is consequently a grand stream.

'We crossed the river and drove into Benares to General Goodwyn's, where we were most kindly received.

'20*th*.—We started again at 3 A.M., by the train to Moghul Serai and Zamanea, from whence we drove, about thirteen miles to Sultanpoor, and then dropped across the river to Ghazeepoor.'

This was for the purpose of holding a confirmation, after which they returned to Benares at midnight.

'21*st*.—After a good rest, I began my work at this large and celebrated city, about 165,000 inhabitants, with a native confirmation. The candidates squatted, and prostrated themselves in prayer, but were very attentive and devout. The hymns were sung, but there was no chanting, which is a pity for the native congregation.'

The missionaries had altogether about 1,300 pupils under their superintendence:—

'A large number, and there is much future promise, but the immediate results are still limited. The Bible is read, but I thought the scholars did not take an intelligent *interest* in it. My judgment, however, is very imperfect, from my inade-

quate knowledge of the language. Still, I seemed to feel that the scholars were much more alive about the other subjects. The orphans are a real addition to the church. I have a great opinion of these orphanages, as calculated to give us thorough and good Christians in after life. I was sorry to hear there is not much communication possible between the scholars and their good teachers after they have left school and gone out into the world.'

'I saw the beginning of the new mission church, a tolerable site but not very promising design. A Hindu gentleman (owner of the site) came to see me, but could not talk, because it was a fast day. He is a Brahmin and strict Hindu, but well spoken of.'

'I took a little drive, and at six went to give an address in the Jay Narain College Hall. About 500 native gentry and Baboos (high and low) were present. My subject was Faith. I spoke for an hour and five minutes. There was much attention shown, and my address has been talked over by the audience afterwards. I hope it may have some fruit.' In one of the newspaper accounts of this lecture, it was described as 'so eloquent and impressive,' and every word was 'so distinct,' which showed he had profited by the previous observations on his lecture at Agra.

'We took an excursion on the river. The Benares Boat Club kindly furnished us a gig, and four gentlemen rowed us along the Ganges. The view of the Ghâts[9] and city with the morning sun shining full upon it, the fine fronts of some of the resident nobility's palaces, the minarets, the red, orange, and green dresses of the people on the ghâts, the numerous boats along the margin, altogether made up a singularly beautiful and picturesque scene, certainly one of the finest views of the kind which I have ever seen. We then landed and walked through the winding narrow streets to the Golden Temple, a small rich Hindu temple to Mahadev (under the name of Vindesha). The

[9] Flights of steps to the river.

small dome and one of the pagoda-shaped spires were gilded, the rest not. Behind this is the well, down which they say Mahadev jumped, when the Mussulmans took Benares. It is inclined, with an arcaded fence. An incessant stream of worshippers was flowing in and out of the temple. A hideous *puja*[1] of the *Ling*[2] was going on, and made me hurry out in great horror, as soon as I could. This temple is reckoned, I believe, the holiest shrine in India, at least among Shaivites.'

'We then mounted a tall elephant, lent us (I believe) by the Rajah of Vizianagram, whose carriage also we used, and rode through other parts of the city to the *Chauk*[3] where the carriages were waiting. Some of the *kinkhaub*[4] was brought to us to see afterwards, with expensive embroidery. The manufacture is very gorgeous (5 yards cost about 3,657 rupees) but too stiff and heavy for wear.'

The Sunday was given to both English and mission churches. At the latter 'there were about 180 communicants. It was a striking scene, no chairs, and prostration in kneeling.

'The Rajahs of Benares, Vizianagram, Narain Sing, etc., reside here chiefly or occasionally. The city has a comfortable and even affluent appearance. The Government College has 730 students. The native gentry seem to make use of this school for their sons.'

'The Church Missionary Society's work seems very good and thorough, as far as I could judge. They gave me a hearty welcome, and I gave them all the help and commendation I could. I am thankful for the comfort thus given and received.'

The night travelling was resumed on the 25th and Jamalpore, a large and growing railway station, was reached on the next morning. Here a church had been built which the Bishop consecrated, and then held a confirmation in it. He addressed about 180 railway operatives in the Station Library.

'I went over the railway workshops here, which were on a

[1] Worship. [2] Emblem of Mahadev. [3] Square. [4] Cloth of gold.

large scale and will soon be considerably increased, as fresh buildings are in course of erection.'

The increase of railways in India and the consequent multiplication of English artizans, with wives and children, forming a population for which increased church and school accommodation was needed, was a source of constant anxiety to the Bishop. He took a deep interest in these English workmen in a foreign land, which they well knew.

When he died, one of the railway chaplains said, 'It seemed from their sorrow at the event, as if the men had lost a personal friend.' On the lines on which he frequently travelled some of the guards were well acquainted with him. He was several times indebted to them for a cup of tea on some of his tours on the unfinished lines of railway. At one place, where there was no refreshment to be had, one of the men took him to his house and gave him some dinner, his good wife telling the Bishop that, since she left England, she had never seen a piece of beef. The Bishop on his return to Calcutta did not forget this, but had a prime joint of beef sent by railway to his kind hostess.

In Central India, when on his first visitation, he had to travel on unfinished lines and incomplete bridges on trolleys. The chief engineer told the Bishop's sister afterwards the men were quite devoted to him; his pluck, patience, and cheerfulness under difficulties had quite won their hearts.

The next stopping place on this tour was Bhagulpore, and the three days spent there the Bishop records as a partial rest. Thence he writes home:—

'I think I must send an account of my tour to the "Colonial Church Chronicle," and so I will put off particulars. They are indeed much the same. I reach any of the larger places, and arrange with the clergy; then have English and Native confirmations, visit hospitals and schools, addressing the sick, and giving away the prizes. I preach on the Sundays at the different churches, receive all sorts of visitors, English and Native: make a long address to the educated natives, urging

conversion, perhaps address the educated native Christian teachers, etc., eat several dinners and drink champagne, and endure the other missionary hardships of a similar kind, and then renew my journey. We have had another grievous cyclone in Calcutta, which quite makes me dread to see it; so much damage and destruction and loss of life among the natives, Christian natives in particular, has taken place. I have had to make large contributions, as the missionary, a good fellow, the Rev. C. Driberg, was in the greatest tribulation. You may remember an account of my visit to Janjhra—it was in the same mission. There is an interesting account of a little Christian child in the school at Barripore, when the storm and flood were raging round, keeping all the school in prayer during the whole night, and their deliverance was most remarkable.'

From Bhagulpore he went to Taljhari, a large mission station in Santhalia, a country inhabited by some of the hill tribes, or aboriginal races, as they are sometimes called.

'This is a most interesting and successful mission, originated by Mr. Puxley, and carried on by him for some time, and now maintained and worked admirably by Mr. Storrs and his wife. The narratives of their journeys in the mountains and jungle, were singularly striking; the station is at one end of Santhalia, but seems an excellent head-quarters. The people appear very promising, simple, and energetic, and overcoming when Christians the besetting fault of drunkenness. They are cultivators and hunters, living in the valleys (the Paháris on the hills) in Santhalia.'

Here two confirmations were held, not as elsewhere, one in English, the other in Hindustani; but this time, one in Hindustani, the other in Santhali.

'There were eighty-eight confirmed, men and women. I had the Santhali written in Roman characters, and got through the service with tolerable success, notwithstanding my total ignorance and the clucks, which are difficult of utterance. Mr. Storrs said a few words to them, to which they listened attentively.

Some had come forty, some sixty miles for the confirmation, and there was an appearance of devotion and earnestness very pleasant to witness.

'In the evening there was a feast to the Santhals who had come in so far through the wild jungle. The magic-lantern was exhibited in the open air, at which they gazed with the most serious wonder, and a few fireworks were let off by one of the missionaries. There is a beautiful site for a church here, which Mr. Storrs is most anxious to build, and which ought to be built, as soon as a good plan is obtained. It will be a striking object, and a kind of Santhal metropolitan church.'

'There is a great door and effectual open. God grant that all this simple and kindly people may enter into it.'

'The country is beautiful and *now* they say healthy, the low jungle having been cut down. I walked with Burge to the foot of the hills, among which I should much like to have made a tour, as I hear they are very beautiful. They must be wild enough. Three leopards and a tiger are said to have been lately run over and killed on the railway, within a few months, just below Taljhari.'

'*December* 4.—At night we went on to Calcutta, and I found myself at home on the appointed day, thankful for having been enabled to accomplish my visitation tour as originally planned.'

The Bishop wrote to the Government on his return to inform them that, according to his promise, he had taken counsel with the clergy and chief laity, both civil and military, at all the principal stations, and they agreed with him that it would be advisable to appoint a church council composed of four laymen to act as lay trustees or churchwardens. He suggested the method by which such a body should be constituted, but added 'that it should be understood such a body would have no compulsory legal powers, only the moral weight and authority which their position and election and the sanction and recognition by Government would confer upon them.'

The Chaplain-General of the army in England having sent

an address to be circulated in India, the Bishop refused to acknowledge his authority. 'The chaplains in India,' he writes, 'are not army chaplains, and Bishop Cotton and my other predecessors, together with the Indian Government, have always been careful to impress this truth upon them.'

In December the Bishop delivered his primary charge to the clergy, of which a few extracts are given. He spoke of the wonderful work before them, of the singularity of the position of the English in India. 'It is not a colony, a new country, a fresh England, a home that they have come to make.' 'We are a handful of English life scattered over this great continent. Our authority in it has not so much grown up by actual conquest as by force of character and a silent but strong sense among the people of the country of the advantage of our rule and of our real interest in their true welfare.'

'The millions thus singularly intrusted to us by Providence experience, though they may not feel, or if they feel may not own, the influence of English law, thought, science, civilisation and morality.'

'It is overcoming the feebleness and lethargy which had grown over and choked the ancient energy and intellect of our native brethren. It is consuming, one by one, differences, prejudices, superstitions, accumulated distinctions of ages. It is welding them more and more into one great people, with, it may be, a mighty future before them.'

'Is this influence at the same time introducing and diffusing Our Religion? Is it, amid those fading prejudices, those vanishing superstitions, establishing the truth as it is in Jesus in their place?'

'As the temple of idolatry and error, great and walled up to heaven, hoary and venerable with the traditions of ages, adorned with poetry and philosophy, sinks before our eyes, do we see amidst its crumbling domes and shattering columns of darkness, the vision of the Holy Church of God rising in all its beauty, and gathering under its starry roof the present and the unborn gene-

rations of India? If there is a mighty future before it, will it be a Christian future? It is a problem of wonderful interest to all; to us, my brethren in the ministry, absolutely overwhelming.

After observing that their difficulties were enhanced by the fact that, though not strangers in the land, they were not settlers, that there is not in India the same fusion of races as in other lands and times, he proceeded to speak of a remarkable change in the spiritual atmosphere of native India. 'Formerly in Indian history there was among the inhabitants of the land, a general contempt or abhorrence of the Christian religion, a firm persuasion of the superiority of their own systems.' 'Now, not only do they recognise the beauty of the Gospel, the loveliness of our Saviour's character, the general perfection of the faith which He preached and of the Church which He founded, but they seem to have a desire that it should be set before them with such attractive force that they might be unable to resist it, that it might compel them to come in. But they speak with great and touching sadness of the divisions of the Christian world, the inconsistency of Christian lives, the scantiness or poverty of Christian worship, which dim their apprehension of Christian truth, and weaken the force of its attraction on the heart.'

He then pointed out that they must set before themselves as their object—

'The glory of God, the execution of His will, and the unity of the Christian body,' but with 'no surrender of truth, no consent to falsehood, no compromise of principle, no fear of man, nor desire of human popularity.'

'With these safeguards, they could not be too anxious, or pray too earnestly for that union and unity of Christendom which would be the best instrument in the conversion of heathendom. Chaplains and clergy of the Additional Clergy Society, and the missionary clergy, should feel and show that they are all possessed with the true Catholic spirit, that they are all one holy ministry, all actuated by the same hope, filled with

the same zeal, engaged in the same great work, not to trespass on one another, but to co-operate; and the chaplains should show the truest sympathy and interest in the missionary work of their brethren in the neighbourhood.'

Again, he said, 'For the manifestation of our unity among ourselves, the hearty co-operation of our lay brethren in all good works, and in all the devotions and holy practices of the Church, is most necessary. For if the multitudes round about, who as yet know not God, if the educated and well-born among the natives see those who are not of the ministry (not, as they would think, paid for such services) evincing such zeal and love for God, they see in them a manifest evidence of the power of grace, and of the excellency of the Christian faith.'

He then strongly recommended weekly Communions, and said, 'In that country of uncertain life, of busy habits, of anxious provision for the future of life at home, of separation among relatives, it was most desirable that the bond of Holy Communion should be made as strong as possible.'

After mentioning different societies as worthy of support, he continued, 'He had seen nothing approaching to what would be called Ritualism. The tendencies in India are to defect, rather than excess. He had rather to ask for chancels in churches, and for the common provisions for church furniture, than to protest against chasuble or incense.'

He spoke of the effects of Rationalism on the educated native mind:—

'But as in Europe, so here, it has not such an attractive aspect as to make enthusiastic or devoted followers. The results of materialistic theories are so lowering to the mind and nature of man; they seem so to precipitate us back into the ancient theories of endless revolutions and transmigrations, or of a cold, hard, helpless fatalism, an absorption and annihilation such as Pantheism offers, that he did not imagine these present theories would be longer lived under this present phase, than they have been in their former forms and developments. Never-

theless, for the purposes of controversy and argument, it was desirable that they should possess some knowledge of these subjects.'

It has been said, a 'holy life is a Christian's best logic,' or as the preacher cries, 'The love of the Lord passeth all things for illumination.' If, with the power of unwavering faith, and with the energy of unwearying love, and in the evidence of a holy life, they delivered their message, it would not be in vain.

'But how much remains for us all to do. As I said at the beginning, so I now say again, we have a wonderful work before us, a wonderful grace is needed to accomplish it.'

The Bishop, in this his first charge, gave the earliest intimation of the great missionary zeal, the depth of which he afterwards proved by his devoted labours in the missionary cause, and the efforts which he made to inspire the chaplains with a like ardour.

His first Christmas was spent in Calcutta, gathering a few friends round his hospitable table, to make it seem like home, though as he wrote to one of his nieces in England, 'Christmas time makes me always feel the separation from friends and relatives.'

CHAPTER IV.

1868.

Visitation of Orissa—Dr. Norman McLeod's visit to Calcutta—Missions near Calcutta—Appeal for more chaplains—Evening Communion—Soldiers' prayer-rooms—Appointments to military stations—Letter to a brother in England.

A FORTNIGHT of this winter was spent in a visit to Orissa, a province south-west of Bengal. It was reached by a small steamer which landed the Bishop at Pooree, and then palki dak carried him to Cuttack, the capital of the province, and over the country, which still bore traces of the famine; 'here and there were sad tokens of death in skulls and bones strewed by the roadside, as in a battle-field.'

A more pleasing token was the large orphanage under the American Baptists at Cuttack and Balasore. 'Notwithstanding its fifty years of labour in this country, this mission had done little really before the famine. It must be a great pleasure to feel that so many children have been saved from death, and are now receiving Christian education.'

At Pooree the Bishop received a deputation of native zemindars and gentry, and two addresses. 'They were very kindly in tone. In my answer,' he said, 'I endeavoured to keep the same, though I hope without any forfeiture of plain truth. They appeared much pleased.' In a home letter he wrote, 'I have a good deal of that kind of thing, and the natives have a sort of affection for me, thinking that I treat them with due respect and affection on my own part, which is, I believe, true.

'The Mahant of Jugarnath, a wonderfully fat man, but

intellectually and educationally disposed, as I was told, was among those who came. It is a shocking idolatry, and the whole aspect of the people and temple (as far as one can see it externally) made me shudder and turn away. I hope, however, the superstition is diminishing, and that "old Jug's" days, as they call him, are really numbered.'

'The temple stands on a platform, and resembles in its arrangement the Burmese pagodas, but is different in shape, and the superstition is far more wild and abject. No European is allowed to enter the temple. (Query, ought this rule to be permitted?) Self-immolation is forbidden; yet the loss of life among the pilgrims is very grievous; at least two out of five never return.'

'The residents hope to build a church, and have collected money for that object. It would be a rallying point and reminder of Christian worship, and would prevent the "forsaking of the assembling of ourselves together as the manner of some is."'

On the return to Calcutta by land, 106 miles had to be done by palki dak to Balasore, whence, after the consecration of a cemetery, another long and tedious journey of seventy-six miles in the same uncomfortable and slow conveyance, with some difficulty in finding men to carry them, brought the Bishop, his chaplain, and Dr. Beatson, his medical attendant, who formed the party, to Midnapore. From thence they reached Calcutta on January 11, 1868, crossing the Hooghly at Oolah Beriah.

Dr. Norman McLeod's visit to Calcutta was during this winter; and, in writing to the Bishop of Madras, 'We have treated Dr. McLeod much after your example,' the Bishop said. 'I liked what I saw of him. I took one warning from your meeting, and limited the speakers strictly to fifteen minutes. It was rather amusing, I fear, to see each one *æstuat infelix angusto limite*, but the public were obliged to me. . . . Have you looked at Keshub Chunder Sen's lectures, the leader of the Brahmos. The best is taken in part from the "Ecce Homo,"

and is certainly striking. The religious atmosphere here is in a very peculiar state; whether life or death will come out of it, it is difficult to forebode.'

To a sister in England a little later he says: 'We continue to be popular with the natives, although I always speak out very decidedly. You will have seen, perhaps, an account of my lecture on "Julian the Apostate" in the little newspaper I sent home. I find they like me all the better for speaking right out. It has been the stupid tergiversation about religion which has engendered suspicion, not frank and open avowal of our desire for their becoming Christians. There was actually a petition from the students of one of the Government colleges against the indifference of their (English) authorities to religion. I must get the particulars of this fact, as it is very striking. Unfortunately I am leaving Calcutta when I ought to be organising a system of further discussion.' Speaking of schools in the same letter he says, 'The religious objection is really a myth. They want Government schools that they may not have to pay.'

During February the Bishop visited some of the numerous mission stations within reach of Calcutta, returning each time after a few days' absence to what he was learning to call his home.

At Mograhat, sixteen miles distant, he found a flourishing mission, stretching down into the Sonderbunds, but all the buildings had been fearfully injured by the cyclone, which had swept over Calcutta and its vicinity in the November of the preceding year; schools blown down and churches injured. One girls' school had been quite blown away, but the girls were mercifully saved, having been in another building at the time. There were 5,000 Christians attached to this mission.

Burdwan, which had escaped the cyclone, was then suffering from a terrible fever which spread over the country round. The mortality was grievous, one school of 120 children had to be closed, three-quarters of the number of pupils having died.

The Christian villages suffered very much. The Bengal

Government did all in its power to check the ravages of this terrible fever, but it lasted several years, and thinned the population for the time. The Bishop visited three of the Christian villages and all the schools of Burdwan.

Another expedition was made to Kapardanga. From thence he made a brief mission circuit with the missionary in charge round by Chupra to Kishnagar on foot or in palkis. He visited several Christian villages and eighteen village schools, where 'the people seemed rather well off, orderly, and well-disposed.'

There were several weddings at which he was present, and an adult baptism of one of the happy couples. There was service every evening at one of the churches, where the numbers were great for week-day evenings; 'perhaps my visit,' the Bishop said, 'increased them.'

'It was rather difficult to keep silence during the weddings at the church; indeed, this is one of the usual difficulties in a native congregation. The arrangements of the churches, and the somewhat untidy buildings, furniture, etc., are against proper decency and order, as well as the "babies," whom the mothers cannot find anyone to take care of, and whom they therefore bring to church.'

There were about 1,200 Christians under this missionary's superintendence, and as 'the physical work of such a large district must be very great, he needs much native pastors ("as curates") to relieve him of the more formal work of the ministry, and I hope we may be able to ordain one or two at his recommendation. But the trial of the catechists must be real and thorough. I think not less than five years.'

'The singing of the children and congregations were in several instances very good. They sang both European and Bengali tunes. One or two of the latter seemed to me sweet and solemn when well sung. The singing had been divested of the nasal twang under Mr. Schurr's tuition.'

'The children in the schools looked happy and clean, especially the Christian children. Certainly Christianity

brightens up the countenance, and gives a different expression to the face.'

Kishnagar, the last place on this little tour, is a pretty station, though it was then rather injured by the cyclone, and it is healthy for Bengal. 'A large mission is established there under the C. M. Society, with schools and training college. There is a large Government college also, and what was then very uncommon a Hindu girls' school under native management, in which some of the pupils were weighed down with ornaments, but they were not far advanced in education.'

The Rajah of Kishnagar paid a visit to the Bishop. When he returned it, 'I saw,' he said, 'the Rajah and his nephew, who is his nearest relative, and perhaps may be adopted for his heir, as he has no family. The house was not large, but comfortable enough. The Rajah's family is very ancient, and once possessed all the land to the Bay of Bengal; now he is thought not to have above six or seven thousand a year.'

'He is a Brahmin of the Brahmins, but dined out and ate his dinner like an Englishman. He is so high caste, I believe, that he can cleanse himself from anything which would break other people's caste; a very convenient elevation!'

At Kishnagar the Bishop gave again his lecture on Truth, of which he wrote: 'I hear it was well understood. It was a directly Christian address.' At all these different places in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, Bengali was the language of the country. The Bishop, though he could read the services in that language, had to have his confirmation addresses translated. Of one he says, 'It seemed to me a free rendering, not to say free and easy.'

A mission to one of the hill tribes in Assam was proposed, and arrangements made for opening it during March.

An urgent appeal was sent in to the Government by the Bishop for more chaplains, a want very commonly spoken of in his journal. Then he wrote of 'the great difficulty or, rather impossibility, of supplying several important stations with

chaplains. It is partly owing to the fact that several of them have reached the term of their compulsory retirement simultaneously.'

Many questions were brought before him, one on evening communion. 'I feel extremely the great difficulty we are under,' he writes, 'in arranging our services in this climate and country. I hear that my predecessor, though apparently with great reluctance, allowed in one or two cases of evening communion. This, I think, is almost the only point on which we differ, but, as far as my diocese is concerned, I entirely disapprove of it.' With regard to soldiers' prayer-rooms he wrote to the archdeacon, 'I have read your circulars carefully. I hope and trust the soldiers' prayer-rooms may be beneficial, and, as you know, I have been anxious to see them established generally. I fear one thing, however, viz. *officers* taking them to *preach* in. It seems to me that the Commander-in-Chief may be asked to give some directions that officers should not use them for preaching in. The real utility of the rooms is thus much injured . . . Privates and non-commissioned officers cannot object to anything officers may say, and would naturally flatter them and their pride of tongue.'

'It would not do for privates and non-commissioned officers to hold forth before officers. They could have their private devotions and Bible discussions much better and more freely if no officer were present.'

Later on he wrote, 'Prayer-rooms are more useful in proportion to the care kept to preserve their character, implied in the term prayer-rooms. I believe this is the opinion of the best soldiers.'

Again with regard to Scripture readers he said, 'They may in some degree be useful if they are something like curates or lay curates to the clergy. If they are encouraged to refer to their secretary in opposition to the clergy, the society can manifestly only be mischievous. It is necessary that curates who are men of education, and have had proper preparation for

the ministry, if they differ from their incumbents, should not continue with them. It is necessary, *à fortiori*, that Scripture readers should never remain in any station when the clergyman cannot have confidence in them.'

'There are different schools of thought in the Church; it does not follow that because one chaplain approves of a man, he would work well under another. All the clergy seem to desire a Diocesan Scripture Readers' Association. I am of opinion that there is a growing necessity for this.'

He was very careful in his appointments to the military stations as far as lay in his power, and he wrote to one of the chaplains who had just been nominated by him to one, 'Military stations require great care and, if not absolutely impracticable, the co-operation and support of the military authorities. With these much may be done, without these, little in comparison. I trust no outward demonstration in the manner of conducting divine worship, nor any development of ceremonial, will be attempted without previous concert with the Church committee; and I trust further that the real spiritual amelioration of the soldier will be manifestly your great object, that you may be able to inspire both officers and soldiers with affectionate confidence in you.'

To another who had given up religious tuition in the schools, because the military authorities did not arrange matters to his liking: 'Supposing that one or two others neglect their duty, it does not follow that you should neglect yours. I do not remember that you ever asked me to enforce your representations on any of these points, and perseverance under difficulties would have been far more likely to obtain a remedy for such of your difficulties as are removable, than a palpable and long-continued withdrawal from your own duty . . . your desire, it has always been my opinion, is to be really useful, and you must excuse me for saying that to "sit in a corner and keep silence" is by no means the most likely method of success. . . .'

In March, he writes to his brother in the army: 'We

propose to stay till about May 1 in Calcutta, and then start for Murree in the Hills, taking a short hill visitation tour in the way; we also propose Kashmeer in September—I hope we shall be strong enough to go through it all. Afterwards I have a wild visitation in the Punjab, and then in Central India to anticipate, and we hope to be in Calcutta again about December 20; a long absence. I find, however, that I must take a little quiet time for study, and cannot get leisure in Calcutta. At Murree, I hope to be able to read for some consecutive time, and get up a brace of languages more or less accurately. I was very near turning my mind to Sanskrit some years ago, but could not well afford the books, and so, little dreaming that it might ever be practically useful, I gave up the intention. I have also to lecture from time to time to clever native inquirers or societies, and have to prepare myself with further study for that end. I am regarded as a "Shokol Gúrú," a kind of head of religion in general here, which is a very vague view of my office, but perhaps it may be turned to some little account.'

'I suppose ecclesiastical matters at home are still in an unsettled state. Here we have occasional grumbles and growls about Ritualism, of which there is none. Our faults are in defect, not in excess, but the grumbling is chiefly among the military; however, I endeavour to keep all as quiet and peaceable as I can. I suppose in this atmosphere disquiet naturally multiplies itself, and fidget becomes faction. I have seen a good deal of some of our missions now; they are on the whole good. The men seem true and earnest. I think M—— is successful in her Zenana visits. She hopes some of the ladies will return her call at night; they will not come in the day. We are talking of going with the Viceroy to see three or four dozen fresh-caught elephants receiving their first instruction. It must be curious to see them learn their alphabet of work and duty.'

CHAPTER V.

1868.

Tour in Punjab—Stay at Murree—Takes duty at Peshawur—Missions to Bundelkund and Burma proposed—Chutia Nagpur converts request to be received into Church of England—Visit to Kashmeer—Ride down the Frontier of Punjab—Illness on voyage down the Indus—Conclusion of Punjab tour—Rules for native pastorate—Letter about Mandalay mission.

ON May 1, in the middle of the hot weather, the Bishop left Calcutta for the Punjab, accompanied by his sister and the Rev. M. Burge, his chaplain.

The Bishop's carriage was attached to the Viceroy's special train, who was on his way to Simla. The railway took them 1,017 miles to Delhi; thence the Bishop travelled by dak gharries to Jullunder. The bridge of boats over the Sutlej was broken by the swelling of the river from the melting snow, and it was crossed by a ferry-boat in the night of the 8th. The whole journey had to be done by night, on account of the great heat.

The Bishop's visitation began at Jullunder with confirmation, Sunday services, schools and hospitals visited.

On the 12th, he went to Hoshyapore. The party had now to travel by dooly dak with relays of men to carry them; they rested in the day at Purwan on their way to Kangra, where there was a beautiful view of the great range of mountains. They left in the evening, and 'as morning dawned, we found ourselves going along the valley of a stream, and looked over a wilderness of low hills toward the same great range over Dhurmsala, said to be 18,000 feet high, and singularly precipitous, a Titanic wall as far as the eye could reach. Kangra is certainly one of the

most lovely and picturesque places in the world. The ravines are precipitous, the gorges well wooded where there is room for trees. The castle and park are beautiful—and are (as usual) said to be always owned by the possessors of Hindustan. When Runjeet Singh repaired and restored it, it was thought impregnable, but Sir Henry Lawrence ordered a gun to be fixed on a hill on the other side of the ravine commanding the Fort, and after the first shot plunged into the castle, it surrendered.'

'The park has splendid views up over the Fort to the great range, and the whole valley is singularly pretty. It put me in mind of a picturesque old castle in the Apennines, very Italian looking, only the great range is a specialty not to be found elsewhere. We walked a good round, ascending by the upper and returning by the new road, a capital piece of engineering.'

'There is a great traffic through Kangra; we must have met two or three hundred camels between it and Hoshyapore: grain of different kinds are the chief articles.'

'The Punjabi people seem manly and intelligent, straightforward and energetic in their ways.'

Kangra and the villages round contained about 8,000 inhabitants. A mission of the C. M. S. was established there under Mr. Menges, a missionary from Lucknow, and was working well. The Bishop examined the boys' and girls' schools; 'they answered well, and the teachers seemed very intelligent. Four persons of ability and some means had been baptised the Sunday before my arrival, and the native upper classes seem friendly. I was introduced to the Tehsildar,[1] the Baboo and others.'

Sunday.—There was service in the Fort for the soldiers, and at half-past eight at the Mission Church. 'I made two addresses in Hindustani,' the Bishop wrote, 'without book, rather fumbling and ungrammatical, but I think it is useful to appear to do my best, when I hope I can do so sincerely. All those confirmed stayed for the Holy Communion. The congregation were earnest and devout.'

[1] Collector.

A beautiful ride in the early morning of the 18th took him by Kangra town and valley to Dhurmsala in the hills. There he spent Ascension Day, held a lay meeting, a confirmation, and inspected the church, in which he recommended some alterations. He went over to Palampore, and the tea plantations to examine the proposed site of a church for the planters. The American Presbyterian school was visited at Dhurmsala, but there were no Christian children among the pupils.

He descended to the plains again in order to reach Dalhousie, another hill station and 'one of the most beautiful, with a grand ride round Pakrota, splendid trees and mountain views.' At the lay meeting there he urged the building a stone church in place of the unsightly barn then in use. In a letter home he wrote, 'We resume our journey toward Murree on Monday, and shall have, I believe, some more fine scenery. I have languages to study there as diligently as I can. I feel more and more how useful it would be if I could really speak and preach easily in Hindustani and Bengali. . . . The Punjabi and Pahari natives are a pleasant set of fellows, but the dooly travelling is a great bore. . . . What a strange state politics seem in at home. I begin to doubt whether the Tories will be in long enough to send us Sir Stafford Northcote. I am sorry Cranborne has dropped from a power to a peer, as I see Lord Salisbury is dead, and we lose him from the Commons. . . . I should have liked to have heard Liddon's sermon. It must have been wonderful. I wish he could come and preach here a few times. It would have a great effect on the Brahmos and their like . . . I regret much the St. Alban's judgment was not final. I myself wish authority could settle all these rubrics. I am afraid that the points in dispute appear *here* so minute as to be ridiculous.'

After his work was over at Dalhousie he again went down into the plains, and had a long journey to Murree in the hills, always travelling by night, as in the hot weather in the Punjab it is impossible to travel by day. The river Chenab had to be crossed in boats, the bridge having broken a few days before.

The bishop had taken a house at Murree, and he intended to rest there and study for the remainder of the hot season, but when he arrived there on June 7, he found letters waiting for him from Peshawur, to say that the chaplain had been ordered away at once on account of illness, the missionaries were absent, and this important station left without a clergyman. 'There was no chaplain available,' is the only remark in the journal; and he therefore went down himself, and remained at Peshawur for ten days, in the most trying season of the year, at the most trying station in India; destined to be fatal to him in after years. There he and his chaplain did the whole work of the station among the soldiers, and on the first Sunday the Hindustani services of the mission as well, the Bishop taking these himself, as better acquainted with the language. When the Bishop returned to Murree, we find the record on the 25th, 'Laid up with fever, much pain in limbs for four days.' That is all.

This action of the Bishop—though it seemed perfectly natural to him, that as he had no one to send he should go himself—had a strong moral effect. Men felt that, if he preached hard work, he practised it, and if self-denial, he exercised it.

July and August were spent at Murree in diligent work on the Bishop's part with a Munshi he had brought with him from Peshawur to instruct him in Hindustani and Persian. He took part in all the Church services and visited the schools, entertaining some of the pupils at his own house.

He wrote home in July, 'The march of our time at Murree is necessarily very uneventful. My chronicle would be taken up with progress in languages of different aspect and pronunciation, and nothing else. I came here for the purpose of study and am endeavouring to carry it out, but I am slower about it than I ought to be. The place is pretty, and although it is "the Rains" there is scarcely any day when we cannot get out for a walk or ride. We are looking forward to our journey, alas! hurried, into Kashmeer. It will be, I hope, a real rest or

temporary release from letters in particular, I mean business letters, which are a very trying part of my work here. Miss Hurford has opened the school for Hindu young ladies in Calcutta, and there are already forty-four pupils, loaded with jewellery in nose, ear, arm, toe, and ankle. A missionary of much experience writes that it is the best move in female education yet made. We took great pains with the Hindu gentlemen on the committee, and I trust it may continue to succeed. . . . The number of applications which come to me from promising fields of mission work is great. I only wish it was better understood at home how urgent and stirring the calls are. I have a whole host of Buddhists in Burma, where I trust this curious religion may prepare the way for Christianity. I want men there immensely. It is a great field. At every town they are asking for a Christian school and ready to pay! If you hear of any earnest Church lady who can come out at her own expense, there is a real opening here. We need a sisterhood here more than anywhere, where English society is in a continual flux. Church and State matters seem both in considerable commotion and confusion in England, and I receive rather gloomy letters from home. I trust God will guide all to a good end, but there is a good deal of darkness in the sky at present.'

During his stay at Murree he received Bishop Hardinge's resignation of the See of Bombay, and he begs him to continue his interest, and sympathy, and earnest intercession. 'The more I see of our work here, the more difficult and intricate does it seem, and the more do I feel the need of the intercession of the faithful.'

The work did at times seem almost overwhelming. A proposal arrived to open a mission in Bundelkund. Up to that time, no Christian mission had been sent to that province with its three millions of souls. It is a country little traversed, with a southern barrier in great measure impassable; the people were said to be willing to be instructed.

The Chota Nagpore converts appealed to the Bishop to help them, and the King of Burma sent a formal request for a mission to be sent to Mandalay, and for a church and school to be built.

The Bishop had also to consult the Commander-in-Chief on several matters connected with the military stations, soldiers' prayer-rooms and Scripture-readers, but he finds leisure to send a loving letter of rebuke to one of the missionaries, in which after telling him what he ought to do to show his sorrow, he continues, 'I do not think you have yet learned what it is "to be converted and become as a little child." Till you have I can scarcely hope that you will be successful in converting others. I have sometimes wondered that with your ability and energy at school work, you are not more successful in actual conversion. But until our sustaining motive is the love of Christ, we cannot expect this blessing. If we feel His love like the apostle, I am sure we shall attain His meekness. I am writing in pure affection for you, and the most earnest desire that your work may have the gracious blessing of the Good Shepherd. There is often some secret spiritual fault which in reality enfeebles our service, and withholds success from the most energetic and able work. I think there is something of pride and impatience in you, which it would be excellent to cast out.'

Before he left Murree he wrote to the rector of his old College at Oxford, to know if there would be any chance of the Universities taking up a scheme for mission work in India as the Central African Mission was undertaken.

Another letter was to the Archbishop of Canterbury, telling him of the request of the King of Burma for a mission, and asking him to recommend it to the Church in England. In it he speaks 'of a possibility hereafter of a missionary bishop for Burma, which might be a great help in this overwhelming diocese. . . . The work here is a strange mixture of hope and fear, and I trust your Grace will continually remember us in your prayers and benedictions.'

On August 28 to his brother: 'We hope to start for Kashmeer on Monday next. We have a tremendous apparatus of tents, mules, coolies, etc., to reach the frontier. After that we take to our tents, but the Maharajah supplies us with transport. I am hoping to choose the site for a church there, if I can obtain his consent. I have also applications from the Golden Umbrella or Burmese king, to build one at Mandalay. This gives you some idea of the diocese and the countries connected with it. It is a large tract of country to be anxious for, from Mandalay to Kashmeer. We have had an earthquake here and the eclipse half visible, and a frontier war also has suddenly sprung up in the Black Mountains beyond Abbottabad. We are to concentrate a considerable force by September 10, and contemplate, I suppose, the infliction of some serious chastisement on the invaders. They are said to have been stirred up by Feroze Shah, son of the last Mogul emperor of Delhi. I have been obliged to postpone my visit to Abbottabad in consequence, as everybody would be away, and it is possible that I may have to give up some part of my frontier tour for the same reason, although we may hope that all will be over before the middle of October, when we return, D.V., from Kashmeer. I have been working here at Hindustani and Persian, the last in a quite incipient stage. Tell little C—— that I am a good boy and learn my grammar very diligently. It is unpleasant at my time of life, but I want to be able to preach in one or two languages if possible.'

On August 31 he started on his six weeks' march into Kashmeer. The tent life, so new to him, the beautiful scenery, the fresh pure air of the valley 5,000 feet above the sea, all were a great refreshment, but though he said he 'could hardly look upon Kashmeer as out of his diocese, as it was in no other,' still, as no diocesan work was done, no journal was kept, and it is only from the correspondence we learn that his object was to see about building a church for the numerous English summer visitors, to inspect the medical mission of Srinuggur, and to inquire into the

persecution to which converts to Christianity were said to be exposed.

The Bishop rode his own pony or walked over the greater part of the distance, often making double marches in the day, in order to see as much as possible of the beautiful country. Some part of the journey, however, was by boat on the Jhelum river and the Woollah lake.

The Munshi accompanied him for the sake of the practice in speaking Hindustani. The Bishop received visits at most of the halting places from the native gentry, and had much conversation in that language, and he attained to much greater proficiency in it during these three months of comparative leisure at Murree and in Kashmeer.

On October 10, at Abbottabad, the journal reopened with a record of a thanksgiving service for the victories in Abyssinia, and the escape of the Duke of Edinburgh when he was shot at, and wounded, in Australia. There he also heard of the death of his uncle, the Dean of St. Paul's, to whom he was much attached.

He rode across the hills in two days to Murree, whence after three days' halt on the 17th he went down to Rawul Pindi, a large cantonment with a town of about 20,000 inhabitants, and where full work was again resumed.

On the 20th, the Bishop left Rawul Pindi, passing Abdul Hassan where there are curious fountains and tanks, Nourmahal's tomb and garden, and remaining for the rest of the day at Syden Bowli where there was a detachment of the 20th Hussars, who were all present at the consecration of the cemetery.

He travelled on by night to Attock, but a few hours of work only were given to that picturesque place with its curious old fort, and he went on across the Indus by the bridge of boats to Nowshera, another military station. There he found the 77th Regiment, and looked at its excellent institute, 'the best I have seen,' with its five hundred and sixty-nine members belonging to the regiment.

On October 22 he consecrated the church; 'the officers and

all seemed much interested in the service.' The same evening found him at Peshawur. At this large military station, three days were spent full of work among the soldiers. The mission also greatly interested him. It seemed full of life, and at the Mission House he met many of the native gentry, Cazies and others who took an interest in the school, many also of the Armenian Christians.

On the 26th, the Bishop started on his journey down the Punjab frontier with his chaplain, one of the roughest and most trying of his journeys; a very curious one, but ending in illness on the river.

'We drove the first part of the way, and then rode under guidance of Rustum Khan, a fine young fellow (who talked Hindustani), along the road to the Kothull or pass over the mountain. He was son of the "Chief of the Clan."'

'A wild and desolate road, but with hard rugged mountain outlines, and strange broken and rugged rocks on every side. Everybody was armed to the teeth, even the muskets, or carbines rather, of our little escort unslung. We expected to change horses, but found we had to ride on to our destination. On ascending the Kothull we looked down on the valley in which Kohat is situated, and saw its fort and station at about four miles' distance.'

'Ponies were sent to carry us over the rugged ridge, but we walked part of the way down, till I saw that we were making the Kotwal[2] uncomfortable, then I mounted again, and rode on till we met a carriage sent for us by Captain Cavagnari, the deputy commissioner, who drove us to his house.

'Kohat is a very pretty station with about 40 European residents, and about 2,500 natives in the town. There is a fine stream of water issuing out of the earth or rock, which branches into several heads, and waters the neighbouring ground and makes it pleasant and fertile.'

[2] The Kotwal was the native officer. Native gentlemen are not accustomed to walking, but would think it disrespectful to ride if the Bishop walked.

'There are here five native regiments, a large force to command. They are mostly composed of various nationalities and rascalities, but a fine force well-disciplined and well in hand.'

'The public gardens were pretty and shady, and the roads in the immediate neighbourhood good. When I arrived, I said good-bye to Rustum Khan, with whom I had tried to keep up a little conversation. It might be well to send him some little present, as I fear that I did not give him a sufficiently ceremonious *rukhsat*,[3] expecting to see him again, which I did not do.'

'We dined at the mess at the invitation of Colonel Jones, and met Colonel Campbell and others. In the evening, notice was given of the service and Holy Communion for the morrow. No chaplain had been there since Mr. Corbyn, early in April, had paid a somewhat hurried visit.'

'On Tuesday at eight o'clock we had service, and I preached from the epistle "See that ye walk circumspectly." About thirty were present: all the officers, I believe, and the wives of those who were married. There was pretty good singing, and the service was pleasant and hearty. The Church is a "nice" little building, and in good order. The cemetery was well kept and pretty. The wall was to be a low coping and rail, which would not interfere with the beauty of the view.'

'More frequent visits from a chaplain must be arranged for. If two are established at Peshawur, visits could be made monthly or bi-monthly as appears best. But the chaplain should have a good physique, be able to ride, as Kohat and Bunnoo are much more accessible on horseback than any other way.'

'After the service I saw a native gentleman descended from Timur Shah, and had such conversation with him as I could. He was advanced in years. He had a great-nephew whom I had seen in the school at Peshawur. He spoke highly, but naturally, as I thought, of the English rule. I enjoyed my

[3] Permission to go, without which a native gentleman does not consider it polite to leave the presence of a superior.

visit to Kohat. Captain Cavagnari was a very clever, agreeable host, and all the officers very kind and friendly. The border officers in general seem a hearty and resolute set, and affectionate and frank among themselves. Ram Kumar[4] and the other servants and luggage were sent on in the morning by a camel, with a mule or two and a camel sowar. We ourselves started in a carriage at one o'clock on the 27th, and then took horse to a place where Captain Cavagnari had sent on some dinner. Some of our luggage reached us in the evening. The servants and the rest of our luggage came on afterwards to Bunnoo by mules and ponies. The road was even more wild and desolate than it had been on the preceding day. Our escort attended us by relays. The country was all a wilderness of sand and rock, little towers protecting each patch of cultivation scattered here and there, ridges of mountains, salt mountains, Suleiman's Takht on three sides, and curious broken fortress-like rocks were near and far. The people of course were all armed. Through this day the road lay in our own territory. In the Kohat pass, the natives (Bangas, I think) keep it up for a payment of 30,000 rupees from our Government, a good plan and pledge of fidelity to some extent.'

'After dinner we left in doolies in which we travelled all night. At 2 A.M. we changed bearers, and met Captain Gordon, who gave us a cup of tea by moonlight in the road. In the early morning Captain Jenkins kindly met us and mounted us. We had police horses, strong and active, but a little wild. We changed horses half-way. The road all night seemed of a similar character, and also on the 28th, only perhaps more level or, rather, less hilly.'

'Salt on every side, and salt caravans on the road. We crossed the Khuroum river, a strong shallow stream of good water, at times a most dangerous torrent: the source of the

[4] Ram Kumar was the Bishop's Christian servant, who went with him on all his journeys. An excellent servant, honest, sober, and true. Born of Christian parents, he had had good Christian training, and showed the fruits of it in his life.

fertility of the oasis of Bunnoo, which met our sight as we breasted a hill about four miles from the town. The view was very striking as we neared it; the green aspect of the station and its neighbourhood was most refreshing. Presently we entered among fields, and under shady avenues of trees of about fifteen years' growth. We enjoyed the coolness much.'

'About two miles from the station Major Godley met us with his carriage, a good English-built double dogcart, very suitable to the country. Before this, at intervals, several little police squads and some native gentry met us, and we made quite a grand display and extremely picturesque, as we crossed the river, and afterwards advanced into the station.'

'We were guests of Major Jenkins, who met us at Laterinmar. The distance from Kohat to Bunnoo is eighty-seven miles, and by our various conveyances we had accomplished it in about twenty hours. The latter part can only be safely crossed in the daytime, so Major Jenkins told us, even with a small escort.'

'The station of Bunnoo corresponded to the beauty of the distant prospect. We reached the place at half-past nine A.M. At one o'clock I married Mr. Beckett to Miss MacMullen. Our party were at the wedding breakfast at Major Godley's, and we met the residents at the station at dinner.'

'*Thursday.*—Service and Holy Communion; about sixteen communicants. I preached. Previously to service I confirmed one young woman. We left at half-past one P.M., driven out by Mr. Bartholomew to Gambeyla, then by doolies at night we proceeded to Pezzoo, and at dawn on the 30th went on to Sheikh Boodeen, about seventy miles altogether. I consecrated the cemetery at four P.M. We dined and slept there, and left (31st) for Chanda and Garik on horseback. Then drove on in a dog-cart with Major Munro to Dehra Ismail Khan. We were his guests there.'

Sunday, November 1, was not a day of rest for the Bishop, for he was present at the early mission service and preached in Hindustani, again at the English service at eleven, and in the afternoon he had a confirmation.

On the Monday he visited the mission school and examined it. When he gave away the prizes, and spoke of the peace and love which education would spread, two handsome boys caught him by the sleeve and said, 'Ah Padre Bishop Sahib give us another prize, give us a sword apiece. We know how to use them.' In describing this in a letter a few years later, to show how careless of life the Punjabis are, he added, 'I laughed at the time, but have often thought since how serious in reality such a tradition is.'

The same day, November 2, he went on board the boat in which he was to go down the Indus to Dehra Ghazi Khan, and left at once. At night, to the great alarm of his chaplain, he was unfortunately taken ill with a return of the fever which had attacked him after his visit to Peshawur in the hot weather. They were going down the river in a perfectly desolate part of the country; but on the third day they fortunately met a steamer from which they procured some medicine; he was, however, still very ill when they reached Dehra Ghazi Khan on the 5th, where they found medical advice.

He was not able to go to the service on the 6th in the morning, but in the afternoon he confirmed four candidates, and 'made my addresses as well as I could in my fever,' he said.

A dooly journey by night took them to Mooltan, when he again had recourse to medical advice, which, with a few days rest from travelling, though not from work, restored him to nearly his usual health. From Mooltan he went to Sialkote, a troublesome journey owing to bad horses and very bad roads. At Sialkote there is a very fine church, for India, and a grand view of the Snow Range of Mountains. The work was chiefly among the military at this station. At the military gaol the Bishop spoke separately to the prisoners, only six in number; 'all laid their offence to drink, as usual.'

It was fortunate the Bishop had recovered his health, as he had another inconvenient and arduous journey before him in order to consecrate three churches and cemeteries in a very out-

of-the-way part of the Punjab, which Bishop Cotton had not been able to reach in his last visitation. Two of the churches were appropriately dedicated to St. John in the Wilderness. The journey was down the river Jhelum in boats in which he and his chaplain slept, and then by riding and driving across country. It took ten days of incessant travelling. It proved longer than was expected, and when it was completed they only reached Ferozepore, fifty miles from Lahore, where his next appointment had been made, three-quarters of an hour before the time fixed for a confirmation of fifty-nine candidates, many of them soldiers.

At Pindadan Khan, after the consecration of the church, he had held a little native Durbar and briefly addressed those assembled, and had also ridden over to the salt mines, 'across six miles of wild country. They are a wonderful sight. The grottoes and galleries were lighted up with lamps, blue lights, and fire balloons. The crystals of salt blazed brightly here and there, and the multitude of workmen and carriers was very striking. The strings of camels, mules, and asses carrying salt outside exceeded my expectation. Great part of the Punjab and North-West is supplied from these mines. They have been worked from time immemorial. The Sikhs left no pillars in the mines. We do.'

The Bishop reached Ferozepore on the 26th, and after the confirmation the rest of the day was passed in visiting the hospital of the 5th Regiment, consecrating a cemetery, and, notwithstanding his fatigue, in confirming four other candidates who were accidentally prevented being present in the morning. The church is a strange building meant for a memorial of the Sutlej campaign, and of those who fell in the battle of Ferozeshah, 'It seems strange that there should be no telegraph or good road or easy communication with a place containing so important an arsenal as Ferozepore.'

On the 27th he went to Lahore. At the lay meeting the plans for a new church more worthy of the capital of the Punjab than the old Mahomedan Tomb which was then in

use, and very inconvenient and unsuitable for divine worship, were discussed. Some little money had already been raised, and the Bishop promised 1,000 rupees when the first stone should be laid.

The need also of a church and chaplain for the railway people was urged, as the numbers were so much increasing.

The mission at Lahore was in the hands of the American Presbyterians, with 1,000 boys and about 150 girls in the schools, but with small results from a Christian point of view.

The Bishop addressed the English engineers and workmen of the Lahore railway on the importance of morality and piety in English people in India. He also gave a lecture on courage to some of the soldiers at the cantonment at Mean Meer, a few miles distant from Lahore, where he went over for two days' work from Lahore.

'I saw,' he wrote, 'several of the native gentry at Lahore, and had some talk with them; with one in particular, who was very excited about the Lord's second advent, but I could not understand him very well. I also had some talk with two or three inquirers at the native pastor's after the service at the native chapel.'

'Lahore city is clean and flourishing, and very picturesque in parts. It seemed a tolerably enlightened place, though partially fanatical still. The public gardens and buildings are good. In the museum, which is well arranged, there are several very curious Buddhist, Hindu, and Bactrian Greek alto-relievos.'

On December 2 the Bishop went to Umritsur, 'a city of about 135,000 inhabitants, half Hindus, half Mahomedans and Sikhs. Many Kashmeeris reside in it, and the fabric of Kashmeer gold and silver shawls and other works flourish there. The wool of the shawls is inferior, but the colours are thought superior to those of Kashmeer.'

'The golden temple in the midst of a large tank, with the minarets of the great mosque and other buildings, is very striking and picturesque. When illuminated the scene is said to be splendid. I did not go inside the temple, as I object to taking

off my shoes, for fear of misrepresentation. The Grunth, the holy book of the Sikhs, seems to be becoming an object of *idolatrous* worship. They do *puja* to it, and carry it in procession daily.' Taking off the shoe is a mark of respect in India, and always done by the people going into their temples, or into the presence of a superior.

In 1871 the Bishop met Doctor Trump, who was engaged in 'translating the Grunth, and who was very full of the importance of Kabir's life and writings, and of the Pantheism introduced in the Grunth. It is a very lengthy production: one part alone was said to be three times as long as the Holy Bible.'

Kabir was a Hindu reformer, and it is supposed that Nanák Shah, the founder of the Sikh religion, was indebted to him for some of his monotheistic opinions, and some of the other ideas which characterise his system embodied in the Grunth. The Sikhs reject the authority of the Vedas, Puranas, and all other religious books of the Hindus, eat all kinds of flesh except that of cows, and admit proselytes from every caste.

'The new public buildings at Umritsur, the town hall, college and school, are good. The clock-tower also promises to be ornamental, although out of keeping with the rest of the city. The new wall, for it is a walled city, is slight but not ugly. The natives, I hear, remark that *we* English build as if we did not depend on fortifications, as our predecessors in authority did. (Sparta needed no walls!)'

'The customs levied at the gates are considerable. The place altogether seems thriving and growing. I heard a good character of the municipality.

'The C. M. S. mission here is the most promising of their missions which I have seen. The chaplain co-operates heartily with the missionaries in a spirit which I was glad to witness. The wives of the missionaries also are most active and efficient in the department of work proper for ladies, and much success accompanies their labours.'

There were six candidates for ordination, and the Bishop set

their papers, and conducted the *viva voce* examination, taking each candidate separately. He addressed them on three evenings. The three subjects were the Fisherman, Shepherd, and Builder; images of the ministry: the first, asking zeal, the second, love, the third, wisdom, especially in missionaries.

How careful he was over the native ministry may be gathered from the rules he laid down for his own and their guidance: 'After much anxious thought and prayer concerning the native pastorate, I have come to these simple but, I trust, practical conclusions:—

'Subject to the following conditions: I shall be ready to ordain native catechists as pastors.

For the Diaconate.

'That the candidate for holy orders must be nominated to me by one of the missionary societies.

'That he must have been five years a catechist or reader, and have passed the canonical age.

'That he must be recommended by a missionary with proper attestations from native Christians.

'That he must be certified as having been faithful and successful in the inferior offices.

'That he must pass an examination in Scripture, and the doctrine of the Church of England in the vernacular.

'That a stipend, a very little more than he has had as catechist, shall be guaranteed to him by the Society, who shall, if possible, obtain it wholly or in part from the flock.

'That he shall work with the missionary, as a curate under an incumbent in England.

For the Priesthood.

'That the candidate shall have been at least three years a deacon. (For very urgent reasons this time might be shortened.)

'That he shall receive proper attestations from the clergyman with whom he has been working, and the native Christians whom he has had in charge.

'That there shall be an increase in his stipend, guaranteed as before and raised as before.

'These rules will apply chiefly to suburban or country districts.

'For town pastors a higher standard of examination will be necessary.'

Imadudin, one of the candidates for ordination at Umritsur, was a learned Mahomedan moulvie, who had been baptised at Umritsur after some years of search after truth and a higher life, during which he had even tried the life of a fakir, narrated in a curious autobiography. He was among the fifty candidates at the native confirmation before the ordination, with his children and his father, who was said to be more than a hundred years old.

Imadudin became a preacher and evangelist amongst his own people. Ordained deacon in 1868, later on, in 1872, he was ordained priest, and was then made examining chaplain to the Bishop.

To return to the journal in which the Bishop describes a soirée he attended of native Christians. 'I conversed as well as I could with many of the party, and had a long talk with a Christian fakir who had been in Java and Bokhara, besides most parts of India. It was a pleasant and interesting gathering, and of a kind likely to be useful. Several English people were present.'

'The mission-house is large and palatial, within the walls of the city, a very useful building, two-storied and healthy.'

About 1,200 boys marched one day with music and banners to a large tent, where the Bishop gave away the prizes to the pupils of the different schools: books, gay pugris, and silk jackets. There was a large assembly of native gentry, and all the English residents. The gay colours of the Punjabi dresses and turbans made it a brilliant scene. The Bishop made two speeches, one in English, the other in Hindustani.

'*December 6th.*—The Sunday's work would have tried most men. At 8 A.M. I attended a short service at the station

church, and celebrated Holy Communion. I preached to the soldiers.

'At eleven I held the ordination in the native church, which was quite full, when two were ordained priests, and four deacons. The service was partly in English, partly in Hindustani, which with the double ordination of priests and deacons, not only made the service too long, but was rather confusing and unsatisfactory. The congregation, however, seemed much impressed with the solemnity of the service; Imadudin's ordination doubtless attracting many spectators. There were eighty communicants, and the service lasted three hours.'

'At half-past four I attended service at the station church, and preached for the local mission, which under the zealous care of the Reverends Keene, Storr and Clarke is one of the most active and satisfactory that I have seen.'

'After the evening service, about six o'clock, we left for Loodiana, crossed the Beas river, and arrived there on the morning of the 7th.'

It is characteristic of the Bishop that though after this hard day's work a troublesome journey took up the whole night, no word expressive of fatigue, or of having done anything unusual, is recorded.

From Loodiana he returned to Calcutta, stopping at Delhi and Cawnpore for confirmations.

In spite of his illness at Peshawur and on the Indus, and although he travelled over more than four thousand miles, he had been able to keep throughout his visitation every appointment at the dates fixed beforehand. He had held twenty-three confirmations, had consecrated four churches and eight cemeteries, had visited all the schools and hospitals, addressing the convalescents in all of them; had held an ordination, and given addresses to educated natives, to soldiers, and to railway employés.

Christmas was again spent in Calcutta, the Bishop adding to his other hospitalities entertainments at his house for the

girls' schools, orphans and others. At these entertainments he gathered round him the children of his friends who came to share in the amusements provided for the schools. The Bishop's love for children was great, and they were always attracted to him. Frequent mention is made in the journals of the children in the houses in which he was a guest, as adding to the pleasure of the visit; or they are described particularly, as at Lucknow, when he bade farewell to his kind host and hostess, and to little Mary, 'a great pet, and merry little thing.'

At the ordination at Calcutta at Christmas there were both European and native candidates, some of them being the Bishop's guests while under examination.

At this time the mission to Upper Burma occupied him. He had corresponded with the home committee of the S. P. G. about a mission at Mandalay, and had sent a missionary there to inquire into the prospects of a mission.

In one of his letters to the Chief Commissioner of Burma on this subject he writes, 'Your account of the opening in Mandalay is highly interesting. Of course an Oriental monarch's promises can never be regarded as free from selfish ends, and there is an appearance, as you wisely indicate, that he may be playing off our good friend Marks against Bigandet and others. I will not therefore be over-sanguine, nevertheless the opening seems real and providential. . . .'

In January he wrote to the King of Burma, to say how thankful he was that the King wished for a mission of the Church at Mandalay, and that he was building schools and mission-house. He would send plans for the church the King desired to build, and he adds, 'Your Majesty has doubtless observed how powerful and flourishing all Christian nations are, and what greater benefit can your Majesty confer on your subjects and kingdom, than to open this mission, which may become, under God's blessing, instrumental in the conversion of your people. . . .'

In a letter to the missionary at Mandalay, a little later, he warns him against over-anxiety. 'I wish you to show the King

that we too are in earnest, but any loss of dignity or over-haste would occasion much more harm . . . only I repeat my caution against over-eagerness. Pray remember that "haste makes waste,"' and after giving many directions he concludes with 'Remember that "the battle is the Lord's," and that "they who wait on the Lord shall renew their strength," and that "in quietness and confidence shall be their strength."'

By spending two nights on the railway the Bishop was able to give a day to Taljhari, in Santhalia, during which he confirmed 106 Santhalis, saying the service in Santhali, and laid the first stone of the church on the beautiful site selected at the time of his first visit to these people in 1867.

The Bishop was one of those who assembled to welcome Lord Mayo, the new Viceroy, who arrived in January, and to take an affectionate farewell of Sir John Lawrence, from whom he had received uniform kindness. He with his clergy presented a memorial to the outgoing Viceroy, expressing their regret at his departure.

CHAPTER VI.

1869.

Visitation of Central India—Additional Clergy Society—Letters home—Visit to Chota Nagpore—Meetings for discussion with some members of the Bramo Samaj—Letter to Berlin Committee—Appeal for help for missions —Letter to a chaplain—Opinion as to the creation of new archdeaconries.

IN January 1869 the Bishop and his chaplain started for a visitation of Central India. They left Calcutta on Thursday evening, the 14th, but after leaving the railway, in consequence of the bad state of the roads, they were twenty-three hours in getting over a distance which ought to have been traversed in nine or ten. Thus they did not reach Morar, though they had travelled without stopping, till Sunday evening, in time for service, when the Bishop preached.

Monday, the 18th, was given up entirely to work, one feature of which was the consecration of a small church built by the Gwalior Contingent.

On the 19th he wrote, 'I visited Gwalior Fort, and consecrated the new burial-ground there, at the foot of the rock near the entrance gate. I made an address to the soldiers who were present at the service. After this we rode up into the Fort. The approach to Gwalior is very striking, as it stands on one of the well-known flat-topped cliffs common to Central India. The rocks tower up grandly. The walls are very picturesque, and the gates singularly beautiful. The tanks ensure a permanent supply of water, an almost solitary case in Indian forts. The palace has a number of very fine towers

richly ornamented, with a course of green and blue inlaid tiles running round them, and along the intervening walls. The colours are very vivid, and the effect, with the elaborate tracery of windows, cornices, and turrets under the little domes, is remarkably rich. The balconies and pillars are beautifully carved.'

'The Jain Temple in the Fort is a wonderful building, from the extreme elaborateness of the plan and the work. It is carved all over both outside and in. The figures seem to be Hindu deities, and the usual stone expression of their fables; the number is perfectly astonishing, the designs are really good, and the finish is remarkable. All the faces without exception have been broken by Mahomedan zeal, and this detracts from both the detail and general effect.'

'The Urwale (Happy!) valley is a curious and beautiful glen running up into the fort hill. The steep rocks on both sides are carved with large Jain figures, and other Buddistlike emblems and shrines. The largest figure in that part of the hill has an ugly resemblance to the Gaudamas of Burma, but lacks the gentle and sweet character which marks the true Buddha images.'

'The native idea is said to be that these gigantic figures support Gwalior Fort hill, and that if they were destroyed, the whole would subside into the earth. Christian occupation (they say) may possibly produce *this* effect. The figures, although mutilated by Baber and other Mahomedan bigotry, seem likely to last almost as long as the hill, which has certainly a solid and strong appearance.'

'The Maharaj lives in the Lashkar, a large new city which has grown up at the foot of Gwalior rock, and spreads away for some miles round, and beyond Scindia's palace. It had a beautiful appearance, with its gardens and groves, and streets and houses well built and numerous. Including those in Gwalior, there are about 200,000 inhabitants in the town, which stretches out towards the east and the terraced rocks beyond.'

The Bishop left 'Morar-cum-Gwalior,' as he called it, on the 19th, and passing Joyala, a place of pilgrimage, a rocky hill covered with temples, and Duttiah, round which 'the scenery is extremely beautiful, with fine trees, a lake, a castle, and temples on wooded hills,' he reached Jhansi on the 20th, and the same afternoon he had service, preached, and confirmed one candidate.

The following morning he says, 'I went over the Fort, and saw where Sir Hugh Rose broke into the castle during the Mutiny, and the low bastion by which the Ranee escaped. The inscription on the stone in the ugly monument over the sixty-six prisoners massacred by order of the Ranee after surrendering on promise of safety, is of melancholy interest: Mr. L. and Mrs. L. and four children, Mr. —— and two children, and so on. One cannot wonder that there was bitter anger on the part of our soldiers, though it seems to have been kept within bounds.'

He visited the military hospitals and schools, and left Jhansi the same day, and then some of the hard travelling in those regions began. It was exceptionally difficult at that time in Central India. On the unfinished lines of railway the Bishop went on trollies, and crossed several rivers on rails simply linked together. On the roads, he went on elephants, or on horseback, or by palki dak, the only modes of conveyance, except when some Rajah or the military assisted him by lending carriages and horses. The distances also were great, and out of the two months spent in this Central Indian tour, twenty-six nights were passed on the road without going to bed.

The first month after leaving Jhansi was spent in constant travelling and occupation; nevertheless he found time to see and describe many curious places, and to visit the Begum of Bhopal in her beautiful city of Bhopal.

From Seoni, where he laid the foundation-stone of a new church, he wrote to a brother in England, 'My tour in Central

India has been rather difficult, but I have visited many interesting places. We have seen Gwalior, Jhansi, Bhopal, Asserghur, the Ajunta Cave temples, all very curious, and some beautiful. I am sorry I cannot sketch better, as now I am travelling without "our artist," and consequently thrown on my own minute resources. I could not bring M—— on this tour. The travelling is too difficult, and a little risky. We had to cross the jungle the other day near Asserghur, having taken the wrong road, and were within an ace of being benighted; the jungle being full of panthers and tigers, which abound in this country, although not in general man-eaters, as they are only found further east. Then we had to ride on trollies or lories as they call them, over the bridges consisting only of the iron rails of the tramway of the railroad, quite safe, but nervous work if you have nerves.' Asserghur, one of the places mentioned in this letter, is 'a wonderful fortress on a great plateau of trap rock, 850 feet above the plain, taken in 1803 and again in 1817. The great gun, "The terror of the Heavens" as it was called, was in the fort; it was to be sent to Woolwich.' A small church was much needed for the garrison, for the soldiers were crowded for the Sunday service into a kind of 'barrack-tomb.' On the return to the railway the party took the wrong road, but the Bishop had fortunately noticed as he rode over in the morning the direction of the sun, and how the land lay, and was able to steer them, and they walked and rode through the jungle till they emerged upon the right road, about two miles and a half from the railway station, which they reached by hard riding just in time for the train at Bosawul.

At Sehore adjoining Bhopal, the church which the Bishop consecrated was very well built. It consisted of a nave and chancel, porch and cloister, of red sandstone with good pillars, the capitals cut by native artists. 'I heard,' he wrote, 'that the impression produced by the care and cost shown in its construction has been very beneficial among the natives. I was introduced to a native banker, who has taken great interest and

given much good help in carrying on the work. I trust the blessing of God may remain on the work and all concerned in it.'

The Bishop reached Jubbulpore on February 25, where the C. M. S. has a large mission. He made two short addresses in Hindustani at the native confirmation, and preached and celebrated Holy Communion in the same language at the early mission service in the station church, at which service a Brahmin schoolmaster was baptised. Jubbulpore was a military station, so there were English services and hospitals and schools to be visited, as well as the mission work to occupy him during his short stay; yet he found leisure to visit the Marble rocks on the Nerbudda, which he thus describes: 'We went with our host and hostess one afternoon to the Marble rocks. We drove first through Gerra, a one-streeted village, along a fine avenue, chiefly of mangoes, planted by Sir W. Sleeman, about eight miles. Then we mounted an elephant, and went along a pretty walk down to the bungalow and the river. Then we took boat, and navigated the pools and channels which lie between the rocks. The whole scene is singularly calm and beautiful. The contrast of colour is very peculiar, and at the same time pleasant. The river is the old stream of the Nerbudda, now spreading out into lakelets, and then narrowing into gorges. The rocks black in parts, especially toward the summit of the cliffs, and white in other parts, coming down in sheer white precipices into the water, which is deep, and of a fine green colour; the stone, strangely funnelled and channelled, here and there smooth and glittering, make a scene of the most singular and attractive character. There is about a mile of these pools and gorges; at last the passage ends in a small rapid. There were several pea-fowl hopping about the rocks, and generally there are otters and alligators, but we did not see them. There is also a tiger's ghât where one comes to drink, and an elephant's ladder, to judge from some marks in the marble cliff. There were multitudes of blue pigeons, but the cranes were not visible. There is

good fishing in the river, and good sporting in the jungle as we hear. We returned down the stream to the bungalow, and after dinner went again on the water to see the rocks by moonlight. It was full moon, and the river shone, and the white rocks gleamed wonderfully, and the black rocks and deep shadows came out in marvellous contrast. Here and there there were most delicate French grey tints on the stone, and the silence and loneliness completed the effect of the strange visionary scenery. It is worth a long journey to behold it. We started back on the elephant about ten o'clock, and reached Jubbulpore just after midnight, having had a delightful excursion.'

Leaving Jubbulpore on March 1, the Bishop stopped for a few hours' work at Sutna and Nagode, travelling chiefly by night and working by day. At Punnah, where the Rajah met him in state with his eldest son and others 'in gorgeous apparel,' he remained five hours. 'The scenery as we approached it was fine: forests on the ghâts with rocks towering out of them, and glades running off from the road in every direction. The woods are said to be full of game. We saw black antelopes, and many fine peacocks, as we drove along.'

'We visited the Rajah, and were introduced to his sons. He seemed an enlightened man. He wished me to tell the Governor-General that he was doing all he could to improve and educate his subjects.' The Bishop continued his journey, riding on an elephant down 'a grand ghât through wild forests to the Cane river, a fine torrent at times, but then low, and easily fordable.' Thence he drove on to Khajrao, where a tent was pitched for him, and he made a halt of a few hours to see the numerous temples.

In the evening, on the way to Nowgong, the Bishop and his chaplain being in palkis, they were suddenly stopped at Rajnaghur 'to be introduced to the juvenile Rajah of Chutterpore, aged one year and ten months.'

'Naturally the little boy was more inclined to weep than talk, but it was a curious scene in an old fort, with chairs of

honour set for me and Burge. The ayah dandling the little gentleman in grand costume, and a number of retainers rushing about in great bustle and good humour. Having been "atred"[1] and "páned," and having given the young heir a blessing, I went on to Chutterpore.'

In 1873 the Bishop saw the same Rajah riding about on his pony at Chutterpore, and sent word he would like to speak to him. 'He could not come to see me in his common dress, but had to go to the palace and be properly adorned, and with a great flare of torches and a noise of tomtoms, and a tumultuous following he arrived at the bungalow. He seemed intelligent, and read Hindi very well for his age. He wrote also a good hand. I saw and heard him on returning his visit in the palace on the following day. It was rather an amusing scene, and the boy bore up bravely, and seemed pleased with my commendations, which were really well deserved.'

'The Rani had sent me a dali (a present of fruit and sweetmeats), and dinner the day before, and expressed through the Dewan much thankfulness for my visit, and for the benediction bestowed on the child nearly five years before.'

The Bishop made no stay at Chutterpore, but proceeded on to Nowgong. 'The view of the castle and town is very fine as we looked back upon it in the early dawn.'

At Nowgong he laid the first stone of a church; the one then in use was an old artillery shed, 'but well arranged by the chaplain with handsome fittings, which gave it a good and suitable aspect, better than some of the conventional churches of the bastard Gothic order.'

The services there were all choral, with soldiers forming the choir. After a confirmation, the consecration of a cemetery, and service with Holy Communion, the Bishop preaching, he left at two o'clock in the morning of Saturday the 7th, to reach Banda for Sunday.

[1] Sprinkling with attar of rose, and handing round pán or betel nut, forms the conclusion of an Oriental interview.

This was the last place he visited in the Central Provinces.

The Bishop on this tour had consecrated three churches, and laid the foundations of two others; but he had found many stations without any place of worship at all, where the people urged him to make some provision for their spiritual needs. On his return to Calcutta, he sent in a report, with the appeals made for help to build churches, to Government. But how to provide clergy for them when built would remain a difficulty. 'The Additional Clergy Society,' he wrote, 'wants endless funds.' This Society was established by Bishop Wilson for the supply of clergy to stations where there were no Government chaplains. The number of clergy belonging to it had been increased during the last three years of Bishop Cotton's life, without a corresponding increase of income, and it had been obliged to draw upon its reserve fund.

Every year, as Bishop Milman continued his work in the many and varied countries he passed through, he felt more and more the great use of this Society, and the necessity there was for an increase to its funds, and that its income should be made to balance its expenditure. In one of his speeches at Calcutta, at a meeting in support of this Society in 1873, he spoke of the very touching appeals he received to send clergy to different stations. There was great danger, he said, in refusing the means of grace to a place which seeks for it. Where there was a ministry of the Word he had observed there was more attention to the Word. If only there was a church built in a place, there was greater attention to spiritual duties and divine truths. He then commented on the saying of one of the philosophic writers in Indian history, that there was a great danger that all their modern civilisation would end in scientific Pantheism, and expressed his belief that this was a danger to which India must always be liable. He then referred to Rome in her palmiest days, revelling in all her splendour and glory, and her gradual downfall, notwithstanding that she was the seat of the greatest learning, by a spirit of unbelief. The tree of knowledge was not that of

life. There was a danger in the large number of stations without clergy or churches in the country, lest men should come to a practical denial of all truth, lest the comforts and the joys of the peace of God should become mere names to their souls; and therefore was it that he felt the pressing necessity of meeting their appeals before it was too late, before the spirit of unbelief has had time to creep into their hearts, that he would earnestly entreat them all to remember that it was their first duty to do good to those who were of the same household of faith.

From Banda he wrote home: 'I am nearly completing my visitation of Central India, and hope to be in Calcutta by March 20. The Viceroy and Council will be leaving for Simla about that time. We shall stay, if nothing happens, in Calcutta till Midsummer. Much of the scenery that I have been passing through has been curious, and in some places very beautiful, considering its parched and dry condition from the long drought. The rivers also are mostly dry, and even the larger rivers have little water in them I have received C——'s letter. I am afraid my view of the "Judgment"[2] differs from his. . . . I grieve deeply over the whole strife and war of words and opinions, which I fear are endangering the true interests of the Church, as well as its extension abroad. I trust nothing rash or hasty may be done, and that everybody will not think himself infallible. . . . I have been of late very well, and have borne a rather fatiguing journey excellently. I trust I may be kept in health and strength, for it makes much difference in my work, as the physical exertion is considerable. I am working at Bengali in the odds and ends of my time, and hope by-and-by to be able to officiate in it as easily as in Hindustani. Then Hindi is also wanted, but with a knowledge of the other two, this will, I trust, be easy. I have also been studying the beginnings of Persian, but made no progress yet. I have been making a few pencil outlines of the Ajunta Cave temples and other places, and regret that I cannot draw in these out-of-the-way regions. At Patna

[2] The Purchas judgment.

I am on the railway again, and so in civilised regions. You need not be afraid that I shall not remember you and yours morning and night. God bless you.'

From Patna, in another letter home: 'I have had a rather laborious tour in Central India. I think I can indorse Bishop Wilberforce's opinion in favour of the bishops in the colonies retiring before death.

> The Episcopi of England who live at home at ease,
> How little do they think upon the danger of the *Sees*.

They little know what our Eastern journeys are. I am sure that the physique of an athlete is a necessary qualification for effectual supervision of such dioceses as we have here. . . . We heard of tigers in all directions on this tour, but we did not come across any of those lively animals. They are not reckoned dangerous to man in that part of the country, but when a man shoots six before breakfast they are certainly plentiful. We have seen some fine scenery and fine antiquities in our journey, especially the Ajunta Cave temples, and some of the great hill forts like Gwalior and Asserghur, and have also visited some interesting native cities and native rulers. The mission work in the greatest part of our tour was scarcely visible. There are large vacant fields. I could find openings for endless men if they could come out on their own means.'

'The great event here lately has been the Durbar: Ameer Shere Ali meeting the Viceroy at Umballa. We, however, have not gone to it. It seems to have been a success, although what special good is to come out of it I do not know. I should think Cabul will always be a very untrustworthy buffer between us and Russia. . . . I am not myself a Russophobist at all, but the boundary settlement seems to me about as binding as a gossamer. A geographical line upon a map is all that it represents; and a line 'without breadth' and substance is of little practical moment. . . . I have just been reading the Dean's last book[3] with melancholy but great pleasure. It is a wonderful composi-

[3] *Annals of St. Paul's*, by Dean Milman.

tion; not a trace of old age in it. He has managed to give an epitome of English ecclesiastical history, and yet never left his subject; a kind of Paul's cross in front of the grand edifice of his Latin Christianity. It is also lively and amusing, and there are in it real and genuine expressions of his own faith, to me very striking and comforting in the midst of his liberal opinions.'

The Bishop's labours, however, were not yet concluded. Leaving the railway at Patna, he made a long and difficult journey across country, first to Gya to consecrate a church and cemetery, and then to Ranchi in Chota Nagpore,[4] a province of Lower Bengal, inhabited by the Kôl tribes, where he had to settle a most difficult and important question. A Lutheran mission had been at work in Chota Nagpore since 1845 under four Germans in Lutheran orders, who had been sent out by Pastor Gossner. These four men had come out with no conditions as to remuneration, no stipulated salary; their main trust in the God whom they served. Five years of labour in this place, about three hundred miles from Calcutta, elapsed before any converts were made, but from that period the conversions steadily increased. In 1851 they laid the first stone of their church, and by their own exertions it was completed in 1855. Some change had in the meantime taken place among their numbers, one had died, and three others had joined them from Germany, one as a lay missionary. At the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 their converts numbered about 700.

These converts were all then scattered in the villages round, hidden by some of their heathen relatives from persecution. The missionaries, with their wives and children, had to flee to Calcutta, but, after the Mutiny was suppressed, they returned to their flocks, who gathered round their pastors with renewed affection, and from that time the ingathering to the fold of Christ was remarkable. Schools had been established, and many of the heathen themselves were ready to build and maintain the school-houses, and assist in other ways the native church.

[4] Now spelt Chútia Nâgpur.

After Gossner's death the mission was supported by a committee at Berlin, who raised the necessary funds and sent them out to Ranchi. But in 1864, when Bishop Cotton visited the place, he found the missionaries in pecuniary straits from the failure of remittances from Berlin. He wrote an urgent appeal for more regular support, and a committee consisting of Germans and English was then formed in Calcutta to assist the mission.

In 1866 and the following year a change was made among the missionary educational staff, and young university men were sent out from Berlin, some of them relatives of the members of the committee at Berlin.

They soon quarrelled with the elder missionaries, whom they looked down upon as not having received a university education, in spite of their evident devotion, and the wonderful progress of the mission under their loving care. These younger men sent home to Berlin grave charges against the elder men, of irregularity of accounts and misappropriation of funds. A Mr. Ansorge, a man who had been a lay helper at Ranchi some twenty years before, and who had left the mission after four months, in consequence of being ordered to take up an out station, was sent out in the autumn of 1868 to examine into these charges.

He showed before he left Calcutta, in his intercourse with the committee, a great dislike to the elder missionaries. Two members of the committee went up with him to Ranchi, to inquire into the charges on the spot. These men, merchants of good standing and practical men of business, made a laborious investigation, and they entirely exonerated the missionaries from all blame.

Colonel Dalton, the Commissioner of the Province, declared that there was not an official in the station, or in the province, who did not view the accusations which had been made as frivolous and false. Yet the Berlin committee repudiated these men, and turned them out of their mission-house, and the church which they had themselves erected.

When the news spread in the villages far and wide, about 7,000 of the native converts resolved to join them; every catechist (except two), the great body of the teachers, the whole of the children of the school, left the young men—strangers whom they did not know, and who did not know them—to remain with those old and true friends, to whom they owed all they knew of saving truth.

From November 1868 to March 1869, these older missionaries were maintained by the committee in Calcutta, and their sympathising friends among the residents at Ranchi. All the stages in the melancholy strife had been reported to the Bishop, always accompanied by an earnest entreaty from the missionaries that he would come to their rescue. He had urged a further reference to Berlin, and had refused to visit the mission until an answer had been received by the missionaries to their appeal. But on March 11 he wrote to Colonel Dalton, 'I am most anxious that a satisfactory arrangement should be made, by which the mission may become part of our own Church. I believe that it would be for its true welfare, and the welfare of the faith in general. Nevertheless the strict rules of right must of course be observed, and every opportunity given to Mr. Ansorge to lay his reasons and ideas before me. I have asked the secretaries of the S. P. G. and C. M. S. to be present, or rather, understanding that Stuart is coming, I have requested Mr. Cave Browne to accompany him. . . . . All that I can do for the real interest of the mission I will do, and I trust God will guide and assist us in our deliberations.'

Thus on March 16 the Bishop arrived at Ranchi to consider on the spot the whole question.

No sooner had the Kôl converts heard of the Bishop's arrival than they hurried to the Commissioner's house to obtain an interview. They stood in hundreds with their catechists, teachers, and elders at their head, representing, as they said, 7,000 brother Kôl converts scattered over the district.

They were very peaceful and orderly in their manner, but

no one could fail to notice the air of determination on their faces. They read the petition they had prepared and brought with them. It was only a repetition, though in far stronger terms, of the cry they had been uttering for months, 'Come and help us.' Their petition, written in Hindi, set forth the desire of Pastor Gossner, before his death, that the mission should be brought into communion with the English Church, and this was now the desire of their own hearts.

The Bishop listened attentively, and told them he would give them an answer on the following morning. After the native deputation had withdrawn, the Ranchi local committee in a body, accompanied by other English residents, presented a strongly worded memorial, complaining of the gross injustice which had been done by the Berlin Committee, and praying the Bishop to take charge of the mission. To these gentlemen he gave the same reply, that he would give an answer the following morning.

The Bishop then sent for the younger missionaries, and after stating what had passed, asked them to make any counter statement, by which he might be guided in his decision. Mr. Ansorge had not waited for the Bishop's arrival, but had left Ranchi a few days before.

After much patient investigation of the whole subject, the Bishop decided on the course to be pursued by him. On the morning of the 17th, a deputation of native Christians with their catechists, even more numerous than those of the day before, waited on him, impatient to receive the promised answer.

He told them in his answer, written in Hindustani, that he was prepared to comply with their wishes in due time, but suggested that they should again appeal to Berlin, indeed offered himself to write to Berlin. This they resolutely refused to listen to, and a general look of disappointment was visible in their faces. Nothing would satisfy them but that he should give them a distinct promise that they should be formally received into the English Church, and a declaration that he actually

looked on them then as being in connection with it. The Bishop warned them of the many difficulties they would have to encounter. He reminded them that they must abandon all right to their beautiful church, to their school-houses, and all the mission property and begin as it were anew, and that perhaps in the face of painful opposition. They declared themselves to be prepared for all this, if only the Bishop would consent to recognise them as members of the English Church. He then wrote down, and gave them this assurance, with which after some consultation they declared themselves satisfied. The following most interesting description of the scene is from the pen of a layman who was an eye-witness of the whole: 'The anxiety of his hearers to know that they really were received into the Church of England was perhaps the most remarkable part of this impressive scene. When told by the Bishop that he would after Easter return to Ranchi to ordain their pastors, and formally receive them into the Church, their countenances at once fell, and the question was immediately put, and put too with evident sorrow, 'Then we are not *now* received?' They could not see the force of the Bishop's answer, that he wished first to make the necessary arrangements for the affiliation of their mission with the S. P. G., who had consented to take over charge of it. This was to them a very secondary matter; all they wanted was to be one with the Church of England, to feel that in matters concerning their church they could look to the Bishop of Calcutta, and not to a Society at Berlin of whom they knew nothing; to feel, in fact, that a repetition of such injustice as had been done to them and their old pastors could not again occur; and it was not until they had received from the Bishop the positive assurance that he did receive them into the Church of England, that their countenances brightened. As soon as they heard this distinctly stated every face became radiant; and when after having received the episcopal benediction they sang the thanksgiving "Now thank we all our God," their very notes seemed replete with exultant joy.'

The Bishop left Ranchi on the 17th, satisfied that it was his duty to take charge of the pastors, cast off by their own society, together with the body of converts which desired to enter into communion with the English Church. He promised to return and comply with the wish of the missionaries, who were then in Lutheran orders, and to confer on them English ordination. On his arrival in Calcutta a few days afterwards, he made arrangements with the S. P. G. Committee for the support of the missionaries. The German Committee also, who heartily approved of the step he had taken, promised to continue to act and raise funds as before.

After spending Easter in Calcutta, the Bishop, in spite of the hot weather having set in, returned to Ranchi *via* Hazaribagh. Between that place and Ranchi there is no house to rest in, and no means of travelling except by palki. Eighteen hours of this uncomfortable mode of conveyance brought the Bishop on April 16 to Ranchi, to fulfil his promise to the Kôls.

It was decided that, according to primitive custom, the rite of confirmation should mark the admission into the English Church of all who were already communicants, and their confirmation should be followed by their receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in token of full communion.

At sunrise on Saturday the 17th, and again towards sunset, in a temporary church of wooden posts and straw and palm leaf roof, the Bishop held a confirmation. A continuous stream of orderly and earnest converts passed up for the laying on of the Bishop's hands. Men and women of every age were there. Six hundred and twenty-four were thus admitted by confirmation into the English Church, representing a still larger body who were unable to be present.

Mr. Ansorge, who the Bishop had desired to meet in March, but who had never during the intervening month communicated with him, now sent a formal protest. The Bishop replied courteously but decidedly, 'Believe me,' he wrote, 'that I have sought for God's guidance in this matter; and I cannot say that

I doubt the correctness of my judgment in it, especially as I have the universal concurrence of the supporters of the Mission in India itself.'

On Sunday, the 18th, the Bishop ordained the four German missionaries; three pastors and one catechist, the three former being ordained deacons and afterwards priests, the latter only deacon. The Bishop preached a very impressive sermon, and then celebrated Holy Communion, at which 650 communicated; English, Germans, and Kôls testifying by the act to the oneness of their faith.

The temporary church was filled to overflowing. There could not have been less than 1,100 gathered together; many of the English residents, the civilians of Ranchi and the officers from the Dorunda cantonment among the number. On the Monday forty-one persons were baptised; the old custom of the mission being adhered to. The village elders were appealed to that they might testify to the character of the adult candidates before they were brought up for baptism; the Bishop having desired that no custom or observance which was not actually inconsistent with the requirements of the English Prayer-book should be abandoned, but that the mission should retain its original character, and preserve its own system as much as possible.

A full account has been given of this transaction, as the Bishop has been blamed by some for haste and for reordaining the missionaries, but, as he said, 'I did not seek them, they sought me;' and several Lutheran pastors had been admitted by his two predecessors into Anglican orders. He wrote to one of his brothers on his return to Calcutta, 'I dare say I shall be criticised for my conduct, but I have concluded that the appeal made by the English residents and subscribers, as well as by the native Christians, could not be refused. Hitherto I have only been found fault with as hasty, which, as the matter has been very long in hand, is not a very just criticism. However, I must not shirk responsibility.'

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'Some of the scenery on the road to Ranchi was very pretty, especially in the woodland valleys and round Mount Parisnath; but 200 miles in a palki is not pleasant. I returned to Calcutta last week. It is now exceedingly hot. The thermometer out of doors in the shade is about 95°; indoors we keep it down to about 86°, our house being rather a cool one, but the languor of the climate makes the heat seem hotter than the mere thermometrical degree warrants. We manage, however, to get a little ride in the evening and a good deal of reading in the day.'

Later on in May: 'We are now in the heat. The thermometer in the shade about 102°, and the feeling that of an outrageous hot-house or stove-house. It is certainly rather trying. We had the whisk of a cyclone's tail last Sunday, which suddenly set us shivering with the thermometer at 78°. Up country the heat is great all day and all night. Here the breeze blows in the evening, and this is what makes Calcutta habitable. . . . I am having some intercourse with a few of the Bramo Samaj people, and other similar sects. Whether anything will come of it is in God's hands, but the difficulties are nearly overwhelming. We have to argue with men of great subtlety and considerable knowledge, and, as far as I can tell, of real piety in their way. The rationalistic views of Europe are known to them, and cast many difficulties in their way. It is very anxious work.'

The meetings he speaks of in this letter were held during this hot season, and at first at the Bishop's own house. The native gentlemen, however, finding the palace an inconvenient distance from their part of the city, the Bishop wrote to the Head of the Medical College, 'Several clever Bramo Samaj and other earnest native Baboos are desirous of conversing with myself and others on religious topics. They have been once at my house, and are coming again to-night, but the palace is too far from their dwellings. The Medical College Hospital is the right situation. Can you, consistently with the rules, allow us to meet once a week for about eight weeks in any large room in your establishment? And can you and any other good friends join us in our dis-

cussions? The help of thoughtful and clever laymen is very desirable on such occasions. The meetings are, as it were, parties given by myself, and any expenses of lighting, &c., I shall of course expect to bear. Our first subject was, "The state of the Roman World when Christianity prevailed in it." Our subject to-night is the "Criterion of Truth." We meet at 8 P.M. and the discussion lasts perhaps two hours. I think it better that the meetings should not be, or be called, missionary, as it might give the educated natives a prejudice against them; therefore I wish for a room not in any Missionary College, but where we may all meet on equal terms.'

'If by any chance you were disengaged this evening, and could be at the Palace at eight, you would be able to judge for yourself of the nature of these discussions. What they will lead to, or if they will lead to anything, is of course in God's hands; but the opening ought to be made.'

These meetings were well attended by the native gentlemen, and were carried on till the end of June, when the Bishop left Calcutta.

His conduct with regard to the Chota Nagpore Mission having been severely commented on in Germany, he wrote to the Berlin Committee, and after having stated all the circumstances of the case he continued:—

'Gentlemen, you must excuse me for saying that the charges brought against the elder missionaries were completely disproved. I may say that this is the universal opinion of every unbiassed person in India. The letter of Messrs. Schröder and Atkinson, as well as the letter from the English committee, proved this fact to demonstration. You yourselves in both your letters acknowledge that the mission had been singularly blessed under the elder missionaries, and yet you ask us not to attribute this blessing in any way to them. This argument was answered in the Temple of Jerusalem, and I wondered, we all wonder, to hear it repeated now in documents signed by your names. I therefore found a mission with its missionaries and people,

thrown upon the world by no fault of their own, and appealing to me for help and support. . . . I told them that they must wait for a month that I might feel assured of their sincerity, and also consult with their Calcutta committee, and listen to any objections which might be raised. . . . At the end of the appointed month I returned. . . . Gentlemen, you state that the step I have taken is new. I reply, the circumstances which occasioned it are altogether new. For these you must excuse me if I consider you responsible. . . . I confess that I appeal with confidence to your spirit of justice, to the same spirit in the great German people, and to all who are interested in missions.'

'I believe that when all the circumstances are fully known, my conduct will be approved by you, and I humbly trust that I have been guided by the Great Head of the Church Himself.'

The Bishop sent home an appeal for help for Chota Nagpore, and for Burma—'The King (whatever his character) seems really anxious to carry out his promises'—and for help also for a mission to the Gonds in Central India, of whom he writes, 'I have continual appeals from the resident officials to establish a mission among them, and they all agree in prognosticating great success among the simple but lively race.' He adds in his letter home, 'We need many prayers in this great and varied field. I wonder devout and able men do not have their hearts kindled to come out and help us here. . . . There seems to be so much division and suspicion in the Church at home, as to mar for the time our missionary prospects.'

One of the chaplains up country had preached two sermons which had given offence to his congregation. After a careful perusal of them, the Bishop wrote :- -

'I give you credit for zeal, but cannot think that it was tempered by discretion. You quoted the Collect for St. John Baptist's Day, but you seem to me to forget that it is *vice* which we pray that God's ministers may boldly denounce; not such amusements as are held innocent and lawful. . . . In conclusion,

while I shall always be thankful for outspoken sincerity and truth, I earnestly recommend to you that meekness of wisdom, without which, at the best, we know not of what spirit we are. . . .'

In June of this year he had received a communication from Government with regard to Bishop Cotton's scheme for the re-distribution of the dioceses and the creation of three new archdeaconries.

The Bishop expressed his opinion that 'the advantages of the scheme are of considerable importance, yet they are not of such a character as to warrant me in urging an appeal to Parliament.'

He proposed a meeting of the three Indian Bishops for the following year, to consider a rectification of the limits of their several dioceses. But in a letter to the Bishop of Bombay he said, 'Any plan which does not give a Punjab bishopric will be but little relief.'

When he was again appealed to by the Viceroy on the same subject, he said :—

'I do not see any reason to give a different reply. . . . I had indeed expressed a general concurrence with the scheme before my arrival in India. Since my residence in the country my opinion of its importance has been rather modified. I cannot, therefore, recommend an appeal to Parliament mentioned as necessary by the Secretary of State. The most pressing needs (recognised as such by Bishop Cotton) are the foundation of a bishopric of Lahore, and an increase in the number of chaplains. . . . If any appeal is to be made, it should be comprehensive and complete. . . .'

In December he wrote still more strongly. 'After much thought and further consultation with the present Archdeacon of Calcutta, I cannot conscientiously say that the addition of two or more Archdeacons would promote the spiritual welfare of the diocese.'

CHAPTER VII.

1869.

Baptism of native Christians at Burisal—Ordination and conference at Cawnpore—Visitation of Oudh and Rohilcund—C. M. S. Mission—Goruckpore—Jaunpore—Indigo factories, Champarun and Tirhoot—Straits Settlements parted from see of Calcutta.

THE months of July and August were spent in a visitation of the provinces of Assam and Cachar. The Bishop returned to Calcutta by Burisal, a place in Eastern Bengal where there is a mission which was under the care of a layman, Mr. Bareiro, a Eurasian. He had been a Baptist, but was then in communion with the Church of England. No clergyman who could speak or read Bengali had been to Burisal for some time, though there were about 500 Christians attached to the mission, and many converts were waiting for baptism.

The Bishop had sufficiently mastered that language also to be able to officiate in it, and he therefore on the afternoon of the day he arrived baptised seventy-four men, women, and children.

'The people seemed simple but earnest, and understanding what they were doing.' The adults were confirmed on the Sunday, and Holy Communion was celebrated in Bengali for the native congregation by the Bishop before he took part in the English service for the residents.

After leaving Burisal he went through the Sonderbunds to Calcutta, where he arrived on September 3, but not to remain, for the provinces of Oudh and Rohilcund, and part of Bengal

were still unvisited. Before he began the visitation of these provinces, he went, after two days' halt at Calcutta, to Simla, Mussoorie, and Nynee Tal in order to hold confirmations; the number of pupils at the Hill schools making this desirable. The rains were late that year, and riding up and down the hills, the Bishop and his chaplain were exposed to drenching rain, and at Simla both were laid up with fever.

The Rev. A. O. Hardy had joined the Bishop at Calcutta as domestic chaplain, on the return of Mr. Burge to England.

On the way to Simla, the Bishop had stopped at Cawnpore on September 5, for an ordination of four missionaries, three Europeans and one native. Of one who was going to open a mission in a new field of work, he wrote, 'I feel a little anxious about his entire devotion to his future work. May God deepen and strengthen his zeal.'

A conference of clergy was held also at Cawnpore, at which the Bishop presided. Four chaplains and eight missionaries were present. 'The subjects proposed were discussed with some ability and care. We afterwards had a day of devotion and prayer, when I made two addresses on Life inward and outward.'

At Nynee Tal there are schools of a less expensive character than those at Mussoorie and Simla. The Bishop thought these might be 'the nucleus of civilian schools, like the Lawrence asylums for soldiers' children, which are much needed, and would be a complement of the Hill school scheme as proposed by Bishop Cotton.' These schools were afterwards much enlarged, and were always fostered by the Bishop. They were to assist in the scheme he had planned before his death for aiding the poorer Europeans to educate their children.

Nynee Tal, which he had not visited before, he described as 'singularly beautiful, the little lake charming. The ascent of one of the hills there was lovely, along the edge of a fine valley and the ridge afterwards. Glorious views of the snows on one side, and of the Biem Tal and other lakes on the other, with a

view far away of the misty plains. The lakes add much to the beauty of the scenery, but made one long for larger lakes. They are mere tarns, though clear and bright.'

He rode on to Almora and Ranee khet, the latter the new site selected for a sanatarium and barracks. 'The journey was pretty, and the snow view opened upon us with great beauty. Tresoul, Munda Devi, Munda Chot, mountains of 23,000 to 26,000 feet, shone conspicuously out at from fifty to seventy miles' distance.'

An asylum for one hundred lepers was an object of interest to the Bishop at Almora, and he visited it with Mr. Budden belonging to the London Mission, under whose care it had been placed by Colonel Parsons and Colonel Ramsay, who had originated the institution. 'Most of the inmates were converted to Christianity, but though they were tolerably tidy and contented, were only just broken of habits of beggary. Mr. Budden asked me to address them, which I did as well as I could.'

Colonel Ramsay had been Commissioner of the province of Kumaon, in which Almora is situated, since 1855. 'An able and energetic man, he rules Kumaon firmly and gently with great success. The district runs up a long way into the Himalayas, and is generally fertile, I believe, and flourishing. There is, however, a good deal of leprosy, and there are certain villages where the plague breaks out, and the people are immediately made to move into the jungle. The rats die, and this is a premonitory sign. Almora has much less rain, and a higher but more even temperature than Nynee Tal.'

In the plains the roads were in a very bad state from the heavy rains. The horses were bad, and the Bishop was delayed on his way. He had to sit in one place under a tree by the roadside for three or four hours, till bullocks and buffaloes could be found to take his carriage on.

He visited all the stations in Oudh and Rohilcund. The American Episcopal Methodists have a large mission at Bareilly and spread over Rohilcund. At a Christian village near Bareilly

which did not bear a good character, 'I spoke to them of their evil repute,' he said, 'and declared that if they did not mend within a year, I should recommend Government to disperse them. They promised repentance. The catechist repeated my words ably, and the people seemed fully to understand what was said to them.'

These Christian villages were waste lands allotted by Government where the Christians might live together, and cultivate the land in places where the Hindu zemindars or Mahomedans would not employ them as labourers because they were Christians.

Another Christian village, Barharatpore, three miles from Goruckpore, where there is a C. M. S. mission, was more satisfactory. 'I inspected,' he wrote, 'the church, which stands near a beautiful tank with fine trees, and sloping lawns, like an English park, and then examined the school, as good a village school as can well be found. The pupils were the children of the Christian villagers, tidy, lively, exact in their answers without forwardness. Reading, writing, summing, Hindi, Hindustani, English (a little of the latter), were all well taught. I saw the villagers. They looked respectable mostly. They were rather too anxious to ask for temporal things: abatement of rent, and in some cases, gifts. I of course refused to interfere, and rather expressed my hope that spiritual advantage might follow. These people have had many trials through high prices and bad harvests.'

'They pay their rent regularly on the whole, and the cultivation is good. The houses looked neat and tidy. The old village was destroyed in the Mutiny. There is a purpose to give industrial training more and more as opportunity offers; where there are orphanages this is most desirable.'

'Altogether it was a pleasant visit, and I think, proves Christian villages with land to be desirable, especially if industrial training is developed. Little lads were ploughing and driving cattle as in England; some were learning carpentering: but *this* work is still young.'

At the native confirmation the Bishop records that 'I made two addresses, I think, intelligibly and clearly. The service and occasion were so good that I believe I was roused by this. There was a very large attendance, both of Christians and also of heathen, in the end and verandahs of the church.'

'The candidates had evidently been thoroughly well prepared. The whole mission work at Goruckpore is remarkably good. It is a town of about 40,000 inhabitants, but of no pretensions, agricultural or otherwise; more like an immense cluster of villages. No municipality, and the people poor. The church is in good order, having been spared in the Mutiny, they say owing to a bell falling and killing a mutineer. It is curious that a somewhat similar accident is recorded at Bareilly, and, I think, Futteghur and Shahjehanpore. In fact, many churches are said to have been saved in whole or part by similar events. I have not gone deep into the facts and evidence of these cases, but the *statement* is curious. Of course it must originate with the native inhabitants. No one turns it to any account, and therefore it is repeated cursorily by English people now, without anything like serious examination.'

Mr. Hardy, the chaplain, who as well as the Bishop had suffered from fever at Simla, was knocked up by constant travelling, and was obliged to be sent down to Calcutta in the beginning of November. The Bishop's physical endurance held out, and he went on with his visitation alone; but we find one record in the journal: 'The fever was rather busy with me all the time I was here, and I have a difficulty in remembering what took place, as I had no time to make notes.'

This was at Roy Bareilly, where, as there was no clergyman, he had himself to examine the candidates for confirmation, who had been prepared by a layman. There, also, the church was consecrated, and Holy Communion celebrated by him with numerous communicants. The schools were visited, and all this work done in the two days which intervened between two long journeys in palkis by night.

He appears to have entirely recovered by November 14, for on a Sunday at Fyzabad he preached at three services, once in Hindustani; but though the absence of his chaplain made his correspondence fall very heavily on himself, he found leisure to go out to Ayodya with Mr. Carnegy, who had been twenty-eight years in that part of the country.

'Ayodya is the birthplace of Ram Chandra, according to the fable. Here there is great idolatrous energy and revival. The Mahomedan pressure being removed under our liberal Government, swarms of jogis crowd to Ayodya. Maun Singh and other talookdars have built new temples. They have multiplied from twelve to sixty. The idol services are busily celebrated. It is become a great place for pilgrimage. The great[1] melas are in March and November; one is impending as I write. There are numerous monasteries, five or six hundred monks in one. It is the only place where I have seen a busy Hindu revival. The Mahomedans also are bigoted and numerous.'

'Mr. Carnegy told me of two Buddhist alto-relievos of Gaudama, with his emblems and attendants, that they were discovered buried by some Brahmins some few years before, that they were given out to be Vishnu and Lakshmi or other divinities, and that pilgrims and money had poured in upon them, and the Ayodyans hoped to supersede Benares, till two pundits from Bombay side came and examined the stones, and pronounced them to be Buddhist, on which their popularity ceased.' When the Bishop was at Ayodya again in 1874, the Hindu revival appeared to be no longer active.

The church at Sultanpore was consecrated on November 16, the Government school visited, and the Bishop left the same night for a fifteen hours' journey to Jaunpore.

There he visited the mission schools, held in an old indigo factory; the mission a branch from Azim-gurh under the C. M. S.

'I drove through Jaunpore town. It is largely Mahomedan, clean and pretty. The fort overhangs the Goomtee, standing on

[1] Festival or fair.

a rock of some elevation, and is a fine remnant. It was dismantled and partly blown up after the Mutiny. There are some particularly good projecting balconies. The material is a warm red sandstone. The area is much overgrown with cotton, and with a low jungle. The view on all sides looked very pretty in the soft morning haze. The country round is beautifully wooded. The tamarind trees abound, and are pleasant to the eye. The Atala Musjid is a very fine and curious building. The old Buddhist structure seems first to have been adapted by the Hindus, and afterwards by the Mussulmans to their Dêv. There is a very grand court, quadrangular, of large size, surrounded by a cloister of four pillars across and of two stories in height. . . . This has evidently been one of the Buddhist courts or cloisters so common in Kashmeer, and indeed in all Buddhist temples.'

'The temple or mosque has apparently also been one of the fine Buddhist buildings, somewhat tapering upwards, elaborately ornamented and carved. The top has been ruined and the whole is dilapidated, but it is bein renovated as a work of curiosity and beauty, not as a religious building, by the English Government. It deserves a careful study, as its proportions are good, its ornamentations elaborate, and the various adaptations it has undergone remarkable.'

'The city, which now contains about 25,000 inhabitants, has several other large mosques or tombs and other buildings in ruins, scattered round it. They prove how large a city it must have been of old, spreading far and wide on each side of the Goomtee, over which there is a curious and well-preserved stone Mahomedan bridge with shops or niches all the way. I think there were thirteen arches.'

The latter part of this autumn visitation was among the indigo factories in Champarun and Tirhoot, where he met with much kindness from the indigo-planters. He made a note of what was necessary for the education of the coolies on the estates, and remarked with satisfaction on the fact of twenty-five marriages

having taken place among the planters, as he thought 'the presence of ladies would soften and improve their tone.'

'The indigo cultivation in Tirhoot seems very profitable; one good year in five is said to make a fortune, but the produce is uncertain, and some capital is necessary.

'The cultivators seem working in tolerable harmony together now, as far as I can hear, and the cultivation is a benefit to the neighbourhood in the judgment of such officials and natives as I conversed with, and it must be remembered that indigo-planters and officials are in general in some antagonism or rivalry.'

One of his lectures to educated natives was given at Mozufferpoor on 'Enlightenment:' 'the double enlightenment necessary for man, as a member of human kind, and as an individual.'

After three months' incessant occupation and travelling, some of it difficult and trying, he returned to Calcutta on December 10. He had found churches and cemeteries needing consecration, and people who required stirring up to more earnestness and devotion, besides work of all kinds among Europeans and natives.

This was the close of his third year of visitation, and yet, in spite of what appears to have been three years of almost constant moving from one extremity of his vast diocese to the other, there still remained places unvisited. He might well thankfully consent to the proposal which had been made in the course of the year, that the Straits Settlements, which still belonged to the diocese of Calcutta, should be assigned to the diocese of Labuan, an arrangement which was then carried out.

CHAPTER VIII.

1870.

The Duke of Edinburgh at Calcutta—Visitation of Ranchi, the Andaman Islands, and Darjeeling.

CALCUTTA was gayer than usual socially, this winter of 1869 and 1870, as the Duke of Edinburgh arrived in his ship the 'Galatea.'

The Bishop was present at the Levee and one of the receptions at Government House, and at the great Durbar, when the Prince was invested with the Star of India. He was excused attendance at the brilliant ball given on board the 'Galatea,' as he never appeared at balls.

The Prince was present at one of the Bishop's *soirées* at the palace, which was thronged with the native aristocracy and all the notables in Calcutta to do honour to him, and to share in the Bishop's hospitality. The Prince wrote with his own hand to request the Bishop to come to the service on board the 'Galatea,' and to preach to the sailors, which he did with his usual eloquence, a sermon well adapted to the occasion. 'He hit us hard, sir, didn't he!' was the naïve observation of one of the sailors the following day to the chaplain.

'We had a gay time of it,' the Bishop wrote, 'with the young[1] Shahzada, who behaved very well here and was very popular. He came with the Viceroy to one of my "At homes" where the guests seemed happy and at ease, the natives in particular.' In writing to Madras a little later he said, 'I hear you had a very successful reception of the young Prince. I

[1] Prime.

liked what I saw of him, and I think on the whole his visit has been of use. His obedience to orders from home in particular seemed to strike the native mind.'

After the Duke of Edinburgh had left Calcutta the city returned to its customary aspect, and the usual work was resumed. The Bishop delivered a lecture on 'Eclecticism' to the educated natives. This he wrote out when he was at Darjeeling in May, as well as one on 'The Characteristics of Race.' They were sent to England, and one appeared in 'Good Words;' the other was lost, which was unfortunate, as these lectures formed part of his missionary work and were always very remarkable, and he never found leisure to write down any of the others.[2]

The Government had been cutting down some of the chaplains' allowances, and the Bishop wrote to the Archdeacon to tell him of this, and added, 'The Government has an idea that the Ecclesiastical charges are heavier than ever. This is not true. I have sent for the Government tables of expenditure, and must make a comparative statement if needed. Of course we must expect to find the nibblings of "Retrenchment's sharky teeth," but in our case I really think they are unjustly applied.'

In February the Bishop paid another visit to Ranchi, the head-quarters of the Kôl mission, to give counsel for the maintenance and extension of the mission. He presided there at a meeting, when it was resolved to take steps to build a large church, the 1,200 worshippers and 585 communicants present on the Sunday he spent there having abundantly proved the necessity for that measure. This was the third time he had made the tedious journey to that place within a year.

The Kôls had a harvest home during the Bishop's visit; the people brought offerings of grain, rice, and small money. At the confirmation the people were so numerous they were obliged to be arranged in rows, the Bishop going out into the body of the church for the imposition of hands.

[2] The Lecture on Eclecticism was translated into Russian by a monk.

'One of the missionaries gave a curious account of a kind of narrative current concerning a self-sacrifice of an incarnate deity. The Mandhas had been working day and night to make a tank, but could not finish it, and the Sun God, Sing Bongha, told them to work either only by day or by night; but they said, "Who are you? We are all Bonghas, and we will work as we please." Then he became incarnate as a boy, and they began to offer sacrifices of various animals, but all failed. Then the boy said, "Sacrifice me. Put me in an oven and bake me seven days." At the end he came out shining with starry splendour, and covered from head to foot with magnificent jewels. Then they said, "How can we become like you?" He told them to go and be baked. They went into the oven, and he fanned the flame. Groans were heard by the women who remained outside, but the boy said, "It is only the men quarrelling for the jewels." Then blood came out at the oven door, and he said, "The jewels are scratching them." After seven days he opened the door; the men were entirely consumed. Then he told the women they could now see the Sing Bongha was a real and mighty god, and they worship him to this day.'

The Bishop was looking forward this year to a meeting with the Bishops of Madras and Bombay at Ootacamund in the Neilgherries, when he would be on a Metropolitan tour in those dioceses, and had planned in letters to both Bishops the subjects for discussion. But this conference did not take place till 1873, the Bishop of Madras being obliged to go to England for his health.

In March the Bishop went, with the Rev. F. Michell as his chaplain, in the steamer 'Madras' to the Andaman Islands, a beautiful group now used as the penal settlement for India.

A calm sea and favourable wind took them in five days to Port Blair. 'The church stands very finely near the top of the hill of Ross Island, with a grand view on both sides.' To consecrate this, as well as the little native church for Christian convicts, and two cemeteries, was the object of the Bishop's visit to this place.

'The blue sea, and the green hills, and the bright sky look as unlike crime and murder as can well be imagined. Yet you are probably waited on by assassins. The ayahs have killed babies, the Khitmagars stabbed their man, and the convict watchmen been steeped in blood. It is a curious contrast of feeling.' An excursion to see the Andamanese home is thus described, 'It was a beautiful and pleasant row up the harbour to the land beyond Viper; Viper consisting of a larger and a smaller island joined by a bridge. We then passed Bird Island, a small island occupied by a house, and reached the neck of land that intervenes between Port Blair and Port Mouat. We had a beautiful but hot walk through the jungle and over low ridges of hills to Port Mouat, where we breakfasted with Mr. Homfray. He was in charge of the Home, and received 200 rs. a month for distribution of food, &c., to the natives.'

'Port Mouat is a land-locked lagoon, with only a very narrow channel out into the Bay of Bengal beyond. It is edged by mangrove banks, above which rise the jungle-covered hills, whose darker coloured trees contrast with the pale green mangroves that fringe the blue waters of the harbour. At Point Augusta, on the opposite side, to which we rowed across, there is a large shed or dormitory on piles, about 90 feet by 26, divided into compartments for cooking, sleeping (men's and women's chambers) and dining. There are no separate dwellings at present. An old chief, Moriarty, accompanied us, much addicted to murder in time past but now quiet enough, and we met there some ten or twelve Andamanese beaux and belles in fig leaves and red ochre; stout well-formed figures, with queer tails behind them of barken tassels and cords, bone necklaces and armlets, the bones, I believe, of their dead relatives. The ochre was daubed over one side, or laid on in broad stripes over their dark skins. They are *short*, very grey-black in colour, with woolly hair closely cut and shaved off all their bodies with glass; not prognathous, good foreheads, not very snubby noses nor thick lips. The number on the islands is variously stated

at from 5,000 to 1,100. Mr. Homfray seemed to think the last number the truest. They do not live away from the sea-shore, on which they reside in small kinds of gatherings of leaf huts, but pass their time in wandering about, or in fishing, or in catching turtle, at which they are expert.

'They are passionately fond of pork, with which they gorge themselves at every opportunity. The pigs are small, but active and fierce. They shoot them with arrows, in the use of which they are very skilful. They have strong bows of wood longer than themselves, which exceed, they tell me, the strength of most Europeans to bend. Mr. Keighley, a strong tall officer, said he had tried and could not string one. I could not ascertain of what wood they are made.

'There were hanging up the skull and bones of a dugong, that strange animal seal or whale, or seacow, probably the mermaid of our voyagers, which had been killed and eaten by the natives, who are partial to dugong beef.

'Perhaps the story of their cannibalism may have been owing partly to these banquets. They also brought in a canoe a large turtle which they had just caught.

'Mr. Homfray seemed able to converse freely with them, and the language had a not unpleasant sound. The words and ideas however are very limited, as are also their numbers. They seemed very cheerful and merry, laughing in the usual wild way of savages.

'They seemed very friendly with Mr. Homfray, and to have perfect confidence in him, running in and out of his house like dogs.

'He promised to teach any missionary their language and ways. He is the only man capable of this, and I am sure kind enough to take any amount of trouble for the people.

'I trust we may be able to send Westerhaut, and commence a mission, else the whole race will probably be of those who fade and vanish away before us Englishmen and our requirements. The number in the south island, with its petty islets,

is said to be already considerably diminished, the deaths exceeding the birth increase of population.'

'The jungle, however, must necessarily everywhere be unwholesome in the long run, independent of any European civilisation, or lessons in rum-drinking or perpetual smoking from early years, which the natives appear already to have acquired—habits which I fear will make the missionary's work uphill at first. It is already late for him to come. Indeed the supposed paucity of Andamanese is the chief real argument against a mission. I cannot however think that, considering the number of children and the extent of the five islands, the natives are so few as some authorities maintain.'

'In the evening we returned to Ross Island as we came.' Another visit was 'to the large plantation and nursery garden at Aberdeen, on the main island, in charge of Dr. King. It was full of jack, lime, orange, and a multitude of other plants, and many thousands of promising young seedling cocoanuts, of which there were none in the island till we planted them, although they abound in the Coco and Nicobar islands.'

'It appeared a thriving and promising means for the improvement of the islands, and a step towards rendering the establishment self-supporting.'

Another excursion was to the top of Mount Harriet, which is 1,125 feet high. 'We rowed across to Hopetown, and then ascended by a beautiful winding road through the jungle. It is a fine ascent, many boulders of sandstone occur in parts, and the jungle is stately in growth, and rich in variety of leaf and colour.'

'The view was fine, over a wonderful mass of dense and universal jungle, with the little islands and sea in the distance.'

'The descent was more beautiful than the ascent. The sea, and islands intersected with the meandering channels, the bay with its inhabited islets, the jungle with its uninhabited wastes of verdure seen through the trees, their wild tall stems, and the interlacing creepers, constituted a very lovely and interesting

scene. It put me in mind of our descent to Chuttack [3] from Cherra Poongi, only it is not so high or steep, the jungle not so wild or rich; but then the blue sea and its islands are lovelier through the forests than the great Sylhet valley. The air on Mount Harriet is fine, the temperature five degrees lower than on Ross Island.'

All the different schools were inspected and the Andamanese orphanage, where 'as yet they cannot talk with or understand their teachers except by signs, and a few words. It is very interesting to see the first dawn of intelligence, and of mutual comprehension.'

'A good patient mistress might, I think, have speedy and great success with these children, who seem quick and affectionate enough.'

After the confirmation at the native church, where Benjamin, the native Scripture reader, ministered to his polyglot congregation, his wife was received back into the communion of the Church; 'she had been separated off, and in a manner excommunicated for adultery. It was the desire of the congregation and the husband, that she should be thus publicly received. God grant she may remain a true penitent. It is doubtful to me whether the husband ought to have received her back at all. It is seldom that condonation of such a crime answers, as far as my experience goes.'

This Scripture reader was acquainted with Canarese, Tamil, Hindustani, and English, and was therefore wonderfully well suited for his post, as the convicts come from all parts of India. The Bishop left the Andamans on April 3. He prepared a scheme for a mission to these islands, and on his return to Calcutta, sent in a report at the request of the Government, in which he stated that 'If the children in the orphanage are to return to their fellow-countrymen, and be instruments of civilising them as Colonel Man, the governor, expects, some training and preparation of the natives to receive them seems essential, as otherwise

[3] In Cachar.

they will either loathe the jungle or die in it speedily. I have no doubt, from information carefully collected, that a missionary, after learning the language and habits of the people with Mr. Homfray, would soon be able to venture out into the jungle. At present the crew of any ship wrecked say fifteen miles from Port Blair, would, if without protection, be immediately assaulted by the savages, but the influence of a missionary would, I am assured, in all probability change their temper.'

In a letter to his sister, who had gone to England for a few months, the Bishop, after giving her an account of his visit to the Andaman Islands continued, 'Do not forget to ask the Bishop of Winchester and King to get hold of Keshub Chunder Sen.

'I wrote to Claughton of Rochester about him. I hear he is to be in England for a year, and that he is gone to see how "Christ" looks in a Christian land. The result to my mind is very doubtful, especially with the tinge of pride which is in him, and which I fear may be nourished in England. . . . I have just been reading Sir Bartle Frere's essay on Indian missions, which is interesting and able. I wish our Church would bestir itself to help us. This article ought to move it.' To a friend he wrote, 'My sister's departure makes me naturally feel my loneliness in India more than usual, nevertheless there is so much to be done that I do not feel dispirited. But the time and work are anxious, both generally throughout the Church, and in India particularly. The home divisions seem rather to increase than diminish, and the trials on the most solemn and mysterious subjects are painful, and here the party spirit attacks even the simplest missionary movements and impedes their success. I have been especially attacked for receiving some Lutheran Missionaries with a large number of their flock into our Orders and into our Church. I hope and believe, however, that the work at Chota Nagpore, among the Kôls, is prospering more and more . . . I trust now that the

Lady Canning Memorial Fund will be really available for useful purposes . . . We should like to raise a handsome memorial in memory of one so much and so justly honoured and regretted here . . . I am very anxious to have a sisterhood, a working one out here, but cannot yet succeed in hearing of any ladies who would volunteer. I grudge them to Africa, where they cannot be half so much wanted. But there is no sentiment about India, and an extravagant prejudice against its climate; whereas now, with the hills, when wanted, it is healthy enough for anyone.'

He was very much opposed to people taking up work for a time, and leaving it for their own pleasure before that time had expired. 'It seems to me in some measure,' he said, 'if not altogether, like those who make a profession to God, and keep back part of the price.'

After spending Holy Week and Easter at Calcutta, the Bishop went to Darjeeling for a month, from which place, after inspecting the Roman Catholic Nunnery, he wrote: 'It seems hard (may God assist me in the search!) that we cannot find similar help in our own Church.'

'The nuns' school is stated to be unsectarian, and to avoid conversion, but then at the sacrifice of religious instruction. There are no emblems or marks of Romanism in the rooms, but I fear unbelief often results from this education for children of parents who are not Romanists.'

To Darjeeling the Bishop gave the palm for beauty before all the others, 'waterless watering-places,' as he called the hill stations. The eternal snows tower up into the sky about forty miles distant as the crow flies; Kinchinjunga and Everest, two of the highest mountains of the Himalayas, being visible from it. Kinchinjunga 'a grand mountain, its outline and the colouring which it takes are of the most beautiful description.' At that time, however, Darjeeling was very inaccessible, though only about four hundred miles frem Calcutta.

He wrote to his sister, 'Darjeeling is certainly a most

beautiful place. I came just as the fine weather began, and had several glorious views of Kinchinjunga. The heat-mist has risen now, and I fear I shall not see much more of it. I went up Senchal yesterday, and was involved the whole time in a dense and impenetrable cloud. To-day I have laid the corner-stone of the new church; it cannot be called the first stone, as the walls are eight feet high already, and it is growing rapidly. I have just returned from Kursiong, where I have been consecrating a new little church, which Mr. Mazuchelli [the chaplain] has contrived to get finished in a fabulously short time, and at a magically low rate for India. It is a good little building for use, without architectural pretensions. All the planters were at the service, and I afterwards gave them a tiffin at the hotel, with which they seemed pleased . . . I am to have a Bengali ordination for the C. M. S. of two native deacons on my passage through Calcutta to Burma. The Bishop of Madras takes eighteen months' furlough to England, and thus has deranged my plans, which, however, as far as the journey is concerned I shall carry out. Besides visiting the missions, I shall have to do a few pieces of work for him instead of enjoying his society at Ootacamund. I expect to add Colombo, and a run in Ceylon, to my tour. I am sorry only that you will not be with me; but the journey and voyages would be too fatiguing for you.'

CHAPTER IX.

1870.

Second Visitation of Burma.

THE Bishop's second visitation of Arracan and Burma was begun on June 15 at Chittagong, where he spent Sunday. From thence he went on to Akyab in the steamer 'Ethiopia.' 'The lighthouse island, with its trees and rocks standing out in relief against the purple hills and green sea beyond, the white surf breaking over the dark jagged rocks, made the entrance to the harbour of Akyab most beautiful. At the season for loading cargoes of rice the port is full of shipping.

'There is a great opening for a mission here. Schools and a missionary wanted. 16,000 people in the town, 350,000 in the province of Arracan, and no mission of any kind.'

The Bishop had a rough passage on his voyage to Moulmein in Burma, where he arrived on the 25th, having only touched at Rangoon.

'The scenery at Moulmein is lovely. The junction of the three rivers forms a kind of lake, dotted with islands: the hills are covered with magnificent flowering trees and shrubs. The wonderful limestone rocks rise up from the woods. Pagodas of all sizes, but all picturesque, stand on every point of the hills, producing an infinite variety of beautiful landscape.'

The S. P. G. school contained a mixture of races among the pupils, but Burmese predominated. The Burmese read English well, though with a broader accent than the Bengali or Hindustani boys.

The Bishop spent five days at this place, Sunday, with

full services, being one of them. After he had examined all the schools, and held a confirmation, having a day to spare, whilst he waited for the steamer in which he was to return to Rangoon, he made an excursion to the nearest limestone rocks, crossing the Atheran river, and then walking and taking elephants.

'The rocks are wonderfully beautiful and striking, rising straight out of the rice-fields, green with trees wherever they are not too steep, for in many places they are perpendicular. The line runs right up from Malacca to the spurs of the Himalayas. They are said to be of coral origin. We went first into the large wild cave, a series of vaulted chambers, with uncrystallised but complicated pillars and pendants, formed by the watery growth of the indurating stone, some lighter, some darker. Here and there openings in the rock admitted streams of light. In other chambers we used blue lights. The effect was wonderful. Innumerable bats flitted about the roof, the noise of their wings was like a fall of water. We went into about seven large halls, but there seemed many more caverns, if the exploration was thoroughly carried out. The other civilised cave consists of a room or two, and long galleries, opening at both ends into the daylight. It is full of Gaudamas recumbent or sitting, some gigantic, some minute, of brick or clay, gilded or painted in many cases. Long endless rows of these comical but gentle figures give a curious aspect to the cave. One or two dome-like roofs of rock are covered with rows of minute figures, twenty circles I counted in one, with apparently a representation of one of the Œcumenical Councils, and Buddha under the bo[1] tree in the midst. Other little figures of a similar character seemed to me to give the usual history of Gaudama.

'I could not learn the date of this use of the caves. A great number of the figures had been broken recently, heads off and bodies smashed, as if Christ Church undergraduates had

[1] The peepul tree under which Gaudama attained the Buddhahood.

visited it! The Kalus and other visitors are said to be the mischief-makers.'

'The views of the openings, with the big and little Buddhas, and the rock and trees and rice-fields gleaming through them, were very singular and beautiful.'

'We returned on elephants to the Gyein river, and rowed to its junction with the Salween, and then up the Salween to the Kado Kyoung. This is recently constructed on the river-bank in a grove of cocoa-nut, betel, and other palms and trees. Two Burmese merchants were chiefly at the cost of its erection.'

'An ancient phoongyee [2] came to meet us at this Kyoung,[3] a kind of rural dean. He did not seem very intelligent. The commissioner who was with me kindly acted as interpreter, but I could not get up any conversation of interest.'

'The phoongyees complain of the slackness of the people about the law, but very vaguely. They said they could read their Pali books, but did not know much about them.'

'There was a class of boys reading away before a row of phoongyees, but very unintelligently. I cannot think that Sir A. Phayre's idea of teaching through the phoongyees is likely to meet with much success. To use a vulgarism, there is no "go" in them as far as I can judge and hear, while there is a quiet self-satisfaction which would prevent them from obtaining any good from others.'

'The Buddhist religion is certainly of a most extraordinary and interesting character, but very puzzling. The hugest and fairest "nothing" that was ever passed off upon man. If its end is nothingness, there is also a present feeling of nothingness, a continual *cui bono* rising up in one's mind, in the midst of its innumerable outward manifestations and inward metaphysics. It has a wonderful hold upon the people apparently, but not an intelligent one. I hope we may obtain a good account of this religion in time. Perhaps Sir A. Phayre's book may show it in its real practical existence. Spence Hardy's book promises

[2] Priest. [3] A Buddhist monastery.

such an account, but scarcely gives it, going off into mere translations or recapitulations of certain books, which throw little light on the subject.'

The same day the Bishop went to the timber excise office on the river bank.

'There were several floats of timber, of which about 60,000 logs are exported. These are all teak. They are floated down the Salween and its affluents, recognised by the hammer marks, though there is great cheating in the business, and in identifying the owners.'

'We wandered into the town, visiting the Thoogye's[4] house, and were introduced to his wife: their manners were decidedly good, and the house was tidy and clean; it is a pleasure not to have the women bolting and hiding in the dirty zenanas, as in Hindustan.'

'We returned by the river, passing the beautiful little island of Martaban, with its palms and pagodas, to the wharf, after a most interesting and pleasant excursion. The day on the whole was fine and cool.'

The Americans had a mission at Moulmein, which the Bishop visited, and speaking of the boarding-school attached to it, he said, 'It is almost a necessity in missions when converts are few, as a nucleus of Christian life for the community.' A Burmese who had been eight years in America had charge of the boys' school belonging to this mission.

The Bishop returned to Rangoon, and remained there a few days as guest of the Chief Commissioner at Government House, one of the few brick houses in the town, most of them being built of wood on piles, on account of the great rainfall, the annual average in Burma being 280 inches, the whole of which falls in six months. This great rainfall fills the rivers, and enables the steamers to go several hundred miles up the Irawadi.

The churches were crowded to hear the Bishop on the Sunday when he preached. There were a few Tamils and

[4] Head man of a small circle of villages.

Madrassees among the candidates for confirmation. During his stay in Rangoon, he went carefully into the state of the mission in Burma, and made fresh arrangements about its management.

This mission, belonging to the S. P. G., had only been at work about seven years. In addition to schools at Rangoon and Moulmein it had established branch schools at different places on the river Irawadi under native teachers. These require more supervision than the missionaries can well give.

The chaplains in Burma were few in number. Most of the missionaries had charge of English congregations as well as their missions. Their converts as yet were not numerous.

'The American Baptist Mission had been nearly fifty years in existence in the country, with some remarkable men in its early years. Mr. Mason, in his book published in 1860, gave the number of Christians attached to the mission as 2,500, and in the report for the year 1870 as 2,352. Hence the number seems to be diminishing rather than increasing. The Roman Catholics have also been long in the country, and have about 8,000.'

One morning early he went to the 'Shuay Dagon Pagoda.' 'It looks its size when one is on the platform; the base threefold, of dark stone up to the beginning of pagoda proper, where the gilding begins. It is said to be solid. There are some fine trees on the platform, and a multitude of little pagodas, posts, and pillars. The famous bell, with its noted inscription, is hanging on wooden pillars, and gives a sweet sound when struck. The pagoda is visited by pilgrims. A few men were worshipping at one of the shrines, bowing in the Mussulman fashion and repeating a formulary. They looked tolerably in earnest. A woman placed a small lighted taper, and knelt down to worship, much in outward fashion like a Roman Catholic, but I could not understand exactly what she was appealing to.'

A mission had been opened at Mandalay by request of the King of Burma, who had built a clergy house and school. A missionary belonging to the S. P. G. had been sent up

about eleven months before, with a schoolmaster, to begin the work.

On July 8, the Bishop and his chaplain, Mr. Hardy, started in the flat 'Pagan,' towed by a steamer up the river Irawadi, bound for Mandalay, the capital of Burma.

In a letter to his sister July 7, he wrote: 'We leave Rangoon to-morrow, and expect to reach Mandalay in a fortnight, or rather less. I am looking forward to the voyage, as I am fond of rivers. The mission here is in much the same state as in 1867, and I am trying to reorganise it to some extent, that it may endeavour to do more direct spiritual work. I think we have a good staff now, and good hopes for the future. The books I have received will be welcome up the river. I visit the stations on my way down. . . . I see by telegram that the Pope has pronounced himself infallible—"what will he do with it?" Is anything expected to happen? Any split in the Romish Church? . . . I am sure you have been looking hard for ladies to come out. I trust we may succeed in the end. It is better to have to wait than get a bad article. That is always a greater loss of time in the end. The ladies whom you describe seem what we want as far as we can ascertain. Then comes the question of the shape and form of the establishment. I want an institution or sisterhood of a permanent character. At first, if we could find two or three who would come out for the special work of training nurses, we could then make a beginning with the Canning Memorial Fund, and add other sisters and other works as occasion offered. I would much rather begin with a great idea than not. . . .'

From the river, July 13: 'We are now steaming up the great Irawadi. It is not unpleasant; the weather is all that can be desired, rather hot, but not oppressive; the scenery is pretty and pleasant. I am amusing myself by working at Burmese. It is an agglutinative language, of which I am glad to get an idea. I have taken a Burmese lad from the Rangoon school to coach me. The pronunciation is difficult, very French in many

ways, omitting the last consonants, and having delicate nasals. I have real opportunity of reading on the river, and, reading consecutively, I can do more in a fortnight than in six months of continual interruptions. I will send a complete list of books to be sent out. I have not indeed settled what line of Eastern study I shall stick to. It is very late in life to be weighing such a question, and I have little leisure; still I shall settle before long, if I may venture such an assertion. . . . As usual, I could only obtain the most contradictory recommendations about a present to the Golden Foot.[5] I therefore have taken none. . . . I have asked to be received quietly, as a minister of religion. . . . It will be better if I can manage it, and certainly pleasanter. . . . I cannot make out the condition of Buddhism at present. It is a wonderful religion. I am anxious to see it out of our Dominion as well as in. The king, you know, can never leave the precincts of his palace for fear of assassination; and certainly in the Burmese crown—

Keeps Death his court, and there the antic sits.

All things, however, are peaceful at present, and we have every reason to hope for a prosperous journey, and a pleasant return down the rapid stream in August. . . . After Thyet Myo you must look for a little break in the continuity of letters, as there is only a post every ten days from Mandalay. . . .'

On July 15, the Bishop passed Minkla, the frontier station between British Burma and Independent Burma, about three hundred miles from Rangoon, and proceeded to Mandalay.

He landed at several towns in the course of the voyage with numerous pagodas and kyoungs. There were many schools in these places, with a few pupils in them. 'At one place,' he wrote, 'more than a hundred phoongyees in yellow robes were bawling out for alms; at Mengwe some boys were at prayers, bowing the head before the shrine and image, and asking for *neibban*.[6]

'In the chief room of the Kyoung at Mengwe there was on a

[5] King of Burmah. [6] Nothing.

raised niche a small marble image of Buddha, with a gilt garment round it hanging in the same fashion as the phoongyees wear their robe. Here and there were two or three small tablets something like tiny altars, with a few vestiges of simple offerings which had been burned upon them.'

'At one end of the room there were several almirahs or closets of carved wood, the panels inlaid with small pieces of glass. In these were some of their sacred books, which the phoongyees were unwilling to show us, merely, I believe, because the key was not at hand; for, although the Burmese treat all books, much more their sacred books, with great reverence as something sacred, yet they do not in general object to their being looked at, or copied, or read.'

'There are idolaters enough who worship the graven image, or who worship the power represented by the image, some one of the manifold deities of the Pagan mythology. There are also some who worship a book, as the Sikhs adore their Grunth (or Scripture) at the Golden Temple of Umritsur. But the eyes of the boys who were asking for *neibhan* were not fixed on the image of Gaudama Buddha, and the books were quietly slumbering unseen on the shelves of the almirahs.'

'Prayer is usually interpreted as the address of the soul to God, but in Buddhism we are driven back on the terms of this proposition, Is there any God? is there any soul? and is Buddha any existing being in their idea who can hear and answer prayer? In the *Milinda prasna*, one of the Buddhist books, the king is made to ask, "Does the all-wise Buddha exist, and can you point me out the place in which he exists? The answer is that he has attained *nirwana*,[1] where there is no repetition of birth. It cannot be said that he is here or that he is there. When a fire is extinguished, can it be said that it is here or that it is there? Even so our Bhagawat has attained *nirwana*. He is like the sun which has set behind the mountains. It cannot be said that he is here or that he is there, but

[1] Extinction, or going out.

we can point him out by the discourses which he has delivered. In these he lives."

'Here is no idea of Buddha existing as a personal and living god, who can hear prayer or grant petitions, or be interested in his suppliants.'

'Pagan, the old capital, is strikingly situated on an elbow of land, the river making a great curve. It is very imposing as you approach: a vast amount of ground being covered with pagodas, some entire, and some in ruins; there are said to be a thousand. I landed with the captain and explored the ruins, going to the three temples, the Gandupolu, the Thapinga, the Ananda. They are all fine buildings, different from the Shuay Dagon and the pagodas lower down; I think a better construction. The Ananda is the finest inside. It has four entrances; opposite each a gigantic standing Buddha, preaching, blessing, meditating, attaining *nirvana* (as I think). There was a dim gloom, and the effect is certainly striking as you move round the dark cloister, and come into the high, dim, square chapels, with the great gilt Gaudamas looking down upon you, with their calm smile, and their hands lifted in preaching or blessing. It is certainly a marvellous religion.'

'At the Thapinga, one of the Gaudama figures in the open air had the plaster off, and the bricks inside gave a curious aspect, skeleton-like, to the shape.'

'The ruins extended a very long way along the river. It is wonderful to see what an expenditure there must have been on religion in this country. There is only a small village now left in a little corner of this old metropolis. But when the angle of land with its magnificent river was crowned with all its buildings it must have been a fine spectacle.'

Mandalay was reached on the 22nd. 'The resident arrived in his boat to receive me. The last reach of the river is extremely beautiful. The floods were out, and added to the grand lake-like appearance of the river. The Shan hills on the left, fine rugged hills in front, with a long and rather level out-

line of higher mountains behind. On the right the Isaguin hills come down to the water, studded with numerous pagodas, with interminable flights of steps leading to them, on the top of the ascents.'

From Mandalay he wrote to his sister: 'Here we are safe, after a rather tedious but not unpleasant voyage. . . . The approach to Mandalay is very beautiful. One of the finest views which I have seen. . . . The church has not advanced, and will not be ready for about a year more; it is rather a disappointment after waiting so long. The excursions are curious, and good sketching might be had, otherwise it is a dull place, and the city is nothing. The number of phoongyees is astonishing, and conspicuous through their yellow dress. I find the rumours of disturbances here are all mythical, mere repetitions of the story of the former attempted outbreak. I refused, or rather asked not to have, a great entry in war boats into the city. . . . We are out of the way of all correspondence and news, and I am getting sadly behind in information about the world. I suppose it is going on as usual, but am not sure, as times are out of joint. I have been working chiefly at Buddhism and Burmese lately, but have read "Janus," and part of Newman's "Grammar of Assent." The former is very curious; the latter is disappointing, and, I think, very illogical; of course with striking passages and curious illustrations, but he is inferior to his former self. I am anxious to learn what happens in consequence of the Infallibility decision. My impression is scarcely anything at present. . . .'

The Bishop inspected the clergy-house and schools, and the site of the intended church. They were built entirely at the king's expense, and under the superintendence of the missionary. The pillars of the church were standing out of the water. They were all that had yet been done towards its completion. The school had been in existence eleven months. 'Considerable progress has been made in English by the fresh boys. The first class mostly consists of boys from Rangoon, whom Mr.

Marks brought up, about eight in number. These are fairly advanced in geography, arithmetic, as well as English reading. The religious instruction consists in a Bible lesson with explanations. There is a sad want of definiteness in aim and method as far as conversion is concerned. The king also seems to have much too much hold upon the school, and the impression seems to be general that conversion to Christianity is unlikely to take place in and through the school. This is discouraging and distressing. I have endeavoured, and hope I may endeavour again, to impress on Mr. Marks the great missionary end for which he has come. Of course we must take the king's aid for as much as it is worth, and try to turn it to the best account. But it is difficult to convince Mr. Marks of the imperfection of his system—and, indeed, the obstacles are doubtless many and great, but at all events the great end might be more distinctly aimed at. There were three young boys, sons of the king, at the school, treated with too much deference I fear, but amiable apparently, and making a slow but I hope real progress. There were fifty-seven boys in the list; there ought to be two or three hundred.'

Mandalay hill is regarded as a sacred place. 'It is a rocky hill covered with low trees. There is a long wooden arcade over the stairs of the ascent, with the usual roof and carvings. A handsome gilt zayat (or preaching house) stands about half way up, on wooden pillars, gilt and red. In the pagoda about two-thirds up the hill, there is a famous gigantic gilt image of Gaudama, with Ananda at his side. Its raised right hand points to Mandalay city, and the head of the sitting disciple follows the direction of the outstretched figure. The story is that the figure was raised in its usual form with hands hanging down, but that one night it suddenly lifted its hand, and pointed to the future site of the capital, while the disciple's head turned to gaze in the same direction. The figures are striking, and the effect good.'

'At the summit there are two gilded pagodas, the usual posts, umbrellas, and streamers. The carving was rich and

good. The view over the city and river and Isaguin hills was extremely fine, as was also the view over the rice-fields and plains on the other side to the Shan hills, which appeared in great beauty.'

'The Cabinet ministers came to call upon me. We had a long and very interesting conversation about Burma, and the Duke of Edinburgh, Science, and Buddhism. We had some argument about the latter. I endeavoured to suggest its defects, while praising its advantages; especially representing it as childish. The discussion was amicable and friendly. They mentioned the promise to Buddha of its 5,000 years duration. They said there were 20,000 phoongyees about, and in Mandalay; some, about 80, were learned men; that the population of the capital is 200,000, which makes the phoongyees 10 per cent. of the entire population, a number corresponding with what we had calculated in the villages and towns on our way up. A vast number to be drawn from the Burmese population, which is very scanty, not 25 to the square mile. The true population of the capital is about 60,000 or 70,000, and I should think there were 7,000 phoongyees, which preserves the same proportion.'

The Bishop had asked to be allowed a seat during his interview with the king, as he said he could not sit on the ground in the attitude required without difficulty. 'I find,' he wrote, 'it is contrary to their etiquette for any but a religious, in the Buddhist sense of the word, to have such a recognition, and therefore it would seem to imply an inferiority of Christianity if I consented now to waive the application. They had a Cabinet Council to settle this important cushion question. It is very comical, and as I should not be sorry to miss the ceremony of being presented, I mean to take no further steps in the matter, but leave it to chance and the Cabinet Council.'

'They speak of me as the Thá-tha-ná-bàing,[8] a dignity at present in abeyance among the Burmese; the king monopolising the supreme spiritual authority, as a kind of royal prophet.

[8] Superior of religion.

His toe-nails were pared, and the parings carried (as a royal priestly relic) under a golden umbrella, on a golden dish, in grand procession through the city, some months ago, and were then buried, and I believe, a pagoda raised over them.'

'He is a preacher in his own esteem, and a man of some Buddhist learning. He sends messengers to Kashmeer, Nepaul, Ceylon, etc. He is fifty-seven years old, but stout and well, only he never dares go outside his palace walls, suffers only two queens to feed him, never sleeps for above an hour or two in the same room, and altogether, seems in a very uncomfortable state of alarm. The last rebellion of the young Katha prince was stated to be a phoongyee rebellion. I suppose they are anti-Erastian, and disapprove his supremacy. It was found out; the prince and others were seized; forty I believe were executed, and about thirty more are imprisoned, which imprisonment, I am told, rarely lasts very long, but ends in disappearance.'

'On the 30th we had a Benediction Service for the chapel and school and clergy house. I thought that a regular consecration was out of place. The service, with two hymns, an address in Burmese from Mr. Marks, and another from me in the chapel, went well and heartily. May the Benediction follow in God's good time in all spiritual blessings. Much grace is needed, and a single simple eye to the glory and to the grace of the King of kings.'

'Afterwards the residents lunched with me at the school. English, French, German specimens congregate here. It is difficult to understand why, but I fancy that there is an idea that the king is made of gold and gems, and that they may be picked up wholesale by any adventurous genius, especially with any mechanical turn, or military capacity. It is said there are thirteen lakhs in the palace, yet everybody belonging to the court seems in arrear.

'In the evening I consecrated the cemetery where Mrs. Sladen is buried. It was rather difficult, as part was under water; however, we walked on the wall, which is broad and flat. It

adjoins the Roman Catholic, the Mahomedan, and Buddhist burial-grounds. It will be difficult to keep in order in the flood time. Most of the residents were present at the service. On Sunday the 31st, we had Service and Holy Communion, and in the evening, the Confirmation.'

The Bishop being detained some days at Mandalay, waiting for a steamer, visited most of the buildings and objects of interest in the city and neighbourhood. He went to the Arracan pagoda, which contains the famous image of Gaudama, brought in pieces from Arracan, of gilded brass, and reckoned especially holy.'

'About fifty people were kneeling and reciting outside, chiefly women. There were behind them about ten Burmese nuns in white dresses, chanting their orisons in a soft low tone, which we all thought sweet; one or two of them looked very devout, and as far as we could judge in earnest. In general the Buddhist devotions have a very perfunctory aspect.'

'Two or three miles beyond this pagoda is the old capital Amerapura, left once, and once returned to, and then evacuated, finally I suppose. There is scarcely a vestige of it now: a few pagodas, the moat now dry, and the enclosure of the old palace which was the residence of the king at the time of Sir A. Phayre's Mission in 1855. The city is in ruins, with gates stopped up by brambles.'

'We went through the city, and out by the opposite gates, and found ourselves on the lake, a splendid sheet of water in the flooded state of the country, surrounded by beautiful trees, and rippled into waves by the S. W. monsoon, which blows so freely at Mandalay. On the other side of the water, we saw the long bridge, wood on wooden piles a mile and a half in length, which was the former communication with the suburb. Beyond were the mountains, the long blue ranges of the Shan hills.'

'A little higher up the river, at Mingoon, is the great base of the pagoda built by the Bodan pya king, the great grandfather of the present king—the completion of which was pre-

vented by the earthquake of 1839. "Mentárágyi's Folly," as the building may be called, towered over us; the great fissure, caused by the earthquake, which has riven the brick facing from top to bottom, and penetrated far into the interior, is very striking and curious. I did not climb to the top myself, my fifty-four years excusing me, as the ascent is difficult; it is all broken, and rent, and torn with deep crevices. I made a sketch instead, looking between two gigantic ruined Leogryphs, of which the head and neck have been knocked off, probably by the earthquake, the great bodies and tails alone remaining, a Titanic comicality.

'The miniature model of the building stands by the river-side. It does not promise much beauty if it had been finished—and now it stands like a veritable tower of Babel, deserted and desolate. The great bell, weighing, it is said, eighty or ninety tons, is still exactly as Yule described it in 1855, on one side, where it has sunk the most, resting on small wooden supports, which are carved into small grotesque figures.'

'I visited the Roman Catholic Establishment, a clergy house, a small sisters' house, an orphanage, and schools. There are three brothers and six sisters. I hear Bishop Bigandet is going to take up his residence at Mandalay, preferring it to Rangoon. This will make the Roman Catholics a strong body here, and perhaps concentrate the king's interest on them and French objects again. He patronised them much some time ago, as he does the Anglicans now, and his patronage has been of use to them in opening their way, although he comparatively neglects them at present.

'Father Albona told me that they were at one time very hopeful even of the king's conversion, but that now he believes his Majesty was endeavouring to turn them to account. He and Bigandet used to argue with the king for two or three hours together, but His Majesty always thought he had the best of it, and probably imagined he would convert them to his faith, or to his secular advantage. I fancy the latter is nearer the truth,

although there is a little missionary spirit lingering in Buddhism, and in the king's idea of his mission.'

'Father Albona gave me some curious information about his stay of thirty-two years in Burma. He was imprisoned in the time of the Dalhousie war, but in a very lenient manner; it seemed more like a security provided for the Christians, than a punishment. In the revolution, when there was much alarm, he and the nuns left at once in the steamer for Rangoon, leaving their houses open; and on their return, after seven months' absence, found everything, even their money, untouched.'

'It was finally settled that I should not be "presented." It is a relief to escape the ceremonial, and its many questionable points, although I regret not seeing the king to thank him for the buildings; for whatever the motive may be, there they are in use, and of some little usefulness.'

'As to the S. P. G. Mission, it is much what I expected, except that I had hoped there were more boys in the school.'

'Mr. Marks is clever, energetic, and an excellent schoolmaster. The difficulties are very great, but he is in the king's hands to a great extent, and, I fear, looks too much to his favour with, and management of the king. He must, in the end, depend in any outbreak or change on the British Resident. He was appointed as a Chaplain to the Resident, against my recommendation to himself, and without previous consultation between myself and the Government of India, on the suggestion of the Chief Commissioner. Hence he has a Government position, and must accept the responsibilities and obligations, as well as the advantages of this position. It would have, I believe, been better in some respects if he had not been hampered thus.'

'We were advised on our return not to venture down in boats, as I had intended. The time and rate of travelling in them is too uncertain. We left therefore in the steamer "Jumna" with two flats, on August 5.

'We passed Isaguin, a most beautiful place covered with fine

and elaborate pagodas, embosomed in beautiful trees, tamarinds, cocoanuts, etc.'

'We stopped at Mingya to take in hides, wheat, and grain. The hides are numerous—cow-hides: the cows must not by law be killed; yet they die, at least their hides come by thousands for exportation!'

On August 9 the Bishop arrived at Thyet Myo in British Burma, and his visitation work began again.

Thence he descended the river in boats as far as Henzada, stopping for service, and to examine schools at various places on the way.

He took with him Hpo Ming, a Burman who had been among the candidates at the Confirmation at Thyet Myo, and at Prome another Burman, a relative of this man, was confirmed.

'The river at Prome was like a lake, except for a strong current; beautiful hills, wooded to the top, with rocks, on bed, on banks. Pagodas peeped out on the tops of the hills in every direction, and great fleets of boats, with their wide white sails like wings, quaint and picturesque.'

From Henzada he wrote to the Archdeacon: 'I am endeavouring to put more organisation and life into our Burma missions. I see from your entries that you have evidently the same impression with myself, that they are too educational. I am trying to remedy this, and think and hope I shall succeed. Marks puts his trust in princes too much, but he has received so much help that it is not to be wondered at. Still I shall try to turn him more to the only source of real success. . . . . I am rejoiced to hear that you are bringing out another edition of your "Science and Scripture," advanced up to the present state of knowledge and opinion. I have not the book with me, and cannot therefore speak so precisely as I should wish. I think that a criticism of the term "Natural Selection" may come within your scope, and the Darwinian application of it. It has always seemed to me a most illogical expression.

Does it mean that the plant or animal selects its own victory, or that nature selects it? and then what is nature in this case? I know many young men much led away by the theory.'

'The modern system is so like a return to Buddhism, that I could almost fancy it promulgated by phoongyees.'

In a letter to his sister, August 23, from the Irawadi, he writes: 'There has been some mismanagement about our letters, and I have not received any of yours for five weeks, and I am journeying down in much anxiety, lest my letters should now have gone up to Mandalay. . . . . Then there is this terrible war, the tidings of which reached me first at Mandalay, the more important events of the first French reverses, at Thyet Myo. I suppose nothing else is thought of in England; and what must be the feelings in France and Prussia! I expect on our arrival at Rangoon that we shall hear of fresh terrible events. I hope to be there to-night. The steamer was late in its arrival at Henzada, and makes me two days late at Rangoon. We shall, however, if all now goes right, be in time for the Madras steamer of the 25th, for even if we have to anchor in the Bassein creek, we shall reach Rangoon early to-morrow. It seems almost wrong to talk of my journeyings and prospects, in the midst of such serious transactions and alarms. I am very anxious to hear what is the real impression in England, and whether there is hope that the war may speedily be ended. I should fear it may be a long one. If it is to be a "war of fortresses," as Napoleon said, it must last some time. But the power of Prussia, under its present government, seems most singular, and perhaps all may be closed before my letter reaches you. I send it by Southampton, as Paris may be beleaguered, and railway communication through it prevented. How strange it seems to be writing these words!'

'I left Mandalay, as I told you in a letter which you may receive *viâ* Marseilles, as it was directed that way, before I knew the seriousness of the war. I have not seen the king, for I required something to sit on, as you must not stand, and the

crouching is both awkward, and rather like *parnám*.[9] I also wished the resident to accompany me, as he desired to do so, and this, I suspect, was disagreeable at court. However, first the queen mother, and then a queen consort, were conveniently taken ill, and the presentation was put off, and finally my seat was objected to, and I refused to go, though several messages came in a rather underhand manner. The whole business is so comical. But it is better to resist Burmese bumptiousness, and back up the resident, who has a disagreeable time of it enough. I was rather sorry to miss an interview and discussion with the king, though when this takes place through interpreters, it is apt to be both useless and a bore. I think I have done right, and hope that my visit has done the mission good. It is hitherto judged right, but I do not know what view the Indian papers will take. However, in the roar of the great strife, little matters will pass comparatively unnoticed. . . . The telegrams bring us early news, but take the interest from the papers, and are so confused and puzzling that it is difficult to make a connected history of what is going on. It was singular to be reading in papers just arrived prophecies of lasting peace, while we were actually reading also war telegrams. . . . It is so difficult to write with the monsoon blowing about twelve miles an hour, that I must finish my letter.'

[9] Obeisance.

CHAPTER X.

1870.

Metropolitan Tour in Madras, Ceylon, and Bombay—Return to Calcutta.

THE Bishop left Burma in August, and without returning to Calcutta went by sea to Madras, to make a metropolitan tour in that diocese, and thence to proceed to Ceylon and Bombay. The journal, which was only kept for the sake of the work, ceased when he left his own diocese, and of this interesting and extensive though hurried tour we have but a few notices in his letters.

Madras, September 5.—'You will be pleased to hear that we are now safe at Madras, enjoying Sir C. Scotland's pleasant house and hospitality. It is English, in the good sense of the word. We had a favourable passage on the whole, only one or two rough days. I did not take a doctor with me on this tour, as, with the Government deficit, I am afraid of any expense not absolutely necessary. My health, however, has been good, and so has Hardy's. . . . It seems to be strange to be writing quietly among such astounding events as we hear of by the telegraph. Fancy France prostrate, and the Emperor a prisoner to the King of Prussia, and all this within a month, while the papers are (as they arrive here) prophesying French victories. Will France fight again in its agony? Despair is dangerous; but all will be over probably long before this letter reaches you.

I continue to receive good accounts from Miss Hurford of her school. It goes on increasing in numbers. She says three children left because the parents wished for a written declaration that they would not be taught Christianity, which

of course was refused. I think, on the whole, it is very promising; but the antagonism to Christianity, especially among the Brahmo Samaj, is becoming more and more manifest continually. It has been nursed, it seems to me, more by the whole tone of Government and Government education than anything else, and is more conspicuous in the native Liberal party than in the old orthodox Hindus. It is a spirit of scepticism, allowing any amount of outward conformity, which may save all family disagreements and social antagonisms. It is what I have depicted "Eclecticism" in my lecture. I shall be curious to know if that and the other lecture appear in "Good Words" or not. They, perhaps, are too distinctly orthodox for that serial. I have not another copy, unfortunately, of either of them. . . . I am going to stay over Sunday here, as there is to be an ordination, which necessitates my presence. I have, however, allowed plenty of time, and therefore have no difficulty in carrying out my tour. . . . I start on Monday (D.V.) for my journey down the missions. At present Madras is cool enough, and altogether I have found none of the great heat with which I was threatened . . . . The distances are no longer exorbitant, although the travelling must be slow. Bullock gharries and boats in the Backwater, which is often pretty, are our prospect until we reach Ootacamund.'

September 12.—'We leave Madras this evening. I have had a small ordination of four candidates, a native lecture, schools and institutions to see; but there is not the same feeling of responsibility, which makes the work less anxious and fatiguing. . . . I hope the visit may have done a little good. I am now plunging into missionary regions which I am anxious to examine. The female education seems here much easier of attainment. There seems far less anti-Christian prejudice, and much less *purda nishin*.[1] The Scotch, however, have a large share in the education here, especially the Free Kirk. I like the clergy whom I have met; the S. P. C. K. secretary is

[1] Seclusion.

a very able man. We expect to reach Trichinopoly to-morrow, stay two days, and go to Tanjore for two more, and then to the southern missions.'

To the archdeacon of Calcutta he writes on the same day: 'The absence of the Bishop of Madras entails so much work that I feel I shall be unable to prepare my charge and hold my visitation before Christmas, especially as I find I must have an ordination at that time. I had intended to have three weeks or a month at Ootacamund, but this is necessarily dwindling to a few days; not enough to give me leisure for the preparation of a charge. There are many serious and difficult questions, both general and Indian, on which I should like to weigh my words very carefully, and for which previous study is necessary. . . . I have had a good deal to do here, and have another ordination before me at Palamcottah, and the Syrian question also looming before me.'

The Syrian question mentioned in this letter was with regard to a dispute in the Ancient Christian Church on the south-west coast of India where there are many Christian villages on the Backwater, a land-locked lake of ever-varying depth and width, with an outlet here and there, through which the water finds its way into the ocean.

The foundation of this church is generally attributed to the apostle Thomas; whether correctly so or not, there was, without doubt, a Christian church in those regions for many centuries before the Portuguese visited Cochin in 1502.

The Portuguese at once endeavoured to bring the Christians they found there to admit the claims of the Roman pontiff, but it was not till the end of the century, under Archbishop Menezes, that many were brought into communion with the Church of Rome. It has been a divided church ever since, and there are still 300,000 who belong to the Primitive Church.

The Bishop wrote from Madura on the 19th to the archdeacon: 'Thank you for your letters. You will have received from me through the Registrar the prayer which I have proposed; as

when there are only foreign nations involved it is not customary to have the Queen's direction, I thought it right not to ask for our Government's. . . . It is a terrible war, and what will be the exact end is difficult to anticipate. Prussia will have its pound of flesh, blood and all, and I do not know that she is much to be blamed if Napoleon really originated the war. But whether France will or can give that pound it is impossible to say. My impression is that she will have to submit before very long to whatever terms Bismarck may think fit to impose. Moreover, there is the danger of Prussia's ambition growing with its success. Still it will be a good thing if the war comes soon to an end, else the bloodshed will be terrible. I hope your book is progressing. I take a sincere interest in it, as the whole working of infidelity seems to hinge on these physical questions at the present moment. It must necessitate an immense deal of new infidel reading. I suppose you know Quatrefage's works. He is on the right side, I believe, and reckoned very able. I have only read reviews of him. I fear the state of mind set forth (say) in the "Westminster Review" is very dangerous, not to religion only but to morals. There is much need for patience and prayer. I visit the Tinnevelly districts to-morrow. The Tanjore and Trichinopoly fields are tolerably promising. There is the usual multiplicity of bodies at work, and the want of unity and organisation is a great impediment; still there is some growth in the kingdom of God here. . . . With the exception of the Tinnevelly missions and the S. P. C. K. depôt, which is on a good system, I am inclined to think we are better organised on the whole. . . . I am very sorry that I shall not have an Episcopal conference, with clergy and laity to help, as there are several points which I should like to have discussed.'

To his sister on the 19th: 'The towns are well worth seeing, and the country occasionally is beautiful. . . . Here we are in the discomfort again of inability to communicate with the natives. The servants in most houses, indeed, speak a little

English, but outside there is nothing but Tamil, of which we neither of us know a word. But with the missionaries to help us, and the official world, we get on very well. The pagodas here are huge affairs, with innumerable pillars and covered corridors round about them; bad carving and sculpture, but very rich and elaborate—no plan or arrangement, but grand from hugeness and amount of work, wonderful figures, and paintings—a sad idolatry. Education, however, makes some progress, and the Church has some growth, retarded by the multiplicity of sects, and the usual rationalistic conceit, but with less Brahmo-Samajism to oppose it, which I fear is now becoming one of the worst antagonists to Christianity in this land. . . .'

From Edyengoodi on the 29th: 'We are continuing our southern journey, and hope to reach Cape Comorin to-morrow morning, and then turn up the west coast, and visit the Syrian Christians, before going to Ootacamund, Ceylon, and Bombay. When I reach the Cape, I shall feel as if I was turning the corner to meet you again. I have been just carried back in thought to Marlow by a lace school, cushions, bobbins, and black and white lace, as Mrs. Caldwell, the missionary's wife, has a very good lace school and lace-making establishment here. The lace-makers looked thriving, and did not work so hard as our poor girls in Buckinghamshire. The lace is sent to other parts of India and Europe, and indeed obtained "honourable mention" in one of the great London or Paris exhibitions. I am interested in my visits here. The missionaries are on the whole a superior set of men, and the work real and successful. I have to receive many addresses, and make many responses. The Tamil is a totally unknown tongue, and I have therefore to depend on translators. Dr. Caldwell, with whom I am staying, and who is a really learned man, accompanies us to Cape Comorin, which will be very useful, as it is a rather wild region, where it would be awkward to be practically dumb. The German missionaries here are very antagonistic, and have

been for some years trespassing on other fields, and relaxing the bonds of discipline to secure converts. It is the only case I have met with of such complaints. It accounts for their anger with me about Chota Nagpore, although the cases are altogether different in reality. . . . We are going to Trevandrum after Cape Comorin, and stay a few days there with Mr. Minchin, the resident. We then go to Cochin, Bangalore a great military station, and Ootacamund, where I stay a week, and then we run over for a fortnight to Ceylon, and from Colombo proceed to Bombay, where I expect to be for another fortnight before your arrival. . . . The travelling here is by palkis; we get to the transit (i.e. bullock-carts) again at Nazerail, and after Trevandrum, we go by boat up the Backwater, which I hear is pretty and pleasant.'

October 4.—'We had a quiet do-nothing day at Cape Comorin, and then came by Nazerail, where there is a mission of the London Missionary Society to Trevandrum. Here we are staying with Mr. Minchin, political resident for Travancore. I have met the Dewan, who is a clever fellow, but, I believe, a bigoted Hindu. Trevandrum is a very pretty place, full of cocoanut trees. The road from Nazerail was beautiful. The climate here is very pleasant. Altogether Madras Presidency has a much pleasanter climate than I expected, and than ours in North India. I see Bishop Wilson notices the same fact, so that it is not exceptional, as I was inclined to think at first. I have seen the Rajah and the first prince since I wrote the above. Capital fellows both of them. Thorough gentlemen and well-informed, speaking English as well as a native of England; literary men, I fear by no means favourable to Christianity. There are two C. M. S. ladies here with a good school for Nair girls. The aristocracy, or rather upper class of people, here are not Brahmins, but Sudras. Here, however, the Sudras are reckoned of the upper ten thousand, although under the influence of the Brahmins to a certain extent. . . .'

From Bangalore he wrote to his brother, October 16: 'I

have been travelling about the south of India seeing the missions. The south-west coast is very rich, and in its way very beautiful, not very picturesque, but glorious with rich vegetation and tropical trees and plants. A voyage up the Backwater is very striking. I have also seen a little of the old Syrian church, and met my brother metropolitan Mar Athanasius, with a suffragan of his. There seems a very considerable reform in the old church, and at present it is working harmoniously with our Society. The Metran is not all that he should be, and there are two rivals, such as there have so often been, disturbing the ancient little church. It would be too long to enter into all the particulars. I must make a paper about it if I have time, when I can find a little leisure, and the necessary books. I am beginning to count the days till M——'s arrival, and longing to hear her account of you all. I fear she will feel leaving England again, although of course it will make much difference that I and her home are here. I trust to meet her when she arrives at Bombay. . . . Our sea telegraph is now re-established, and we received this moment, October 16, a telegram dated "London, October 15," announcing further sieges and fightings, though nothing of any great moment. The war seems rather increasing in bitterness, and, I fear, may become cruel and savage before long. If starvation and sickness appear, it is almost sure to lose its politeness. . . . There is a little uneasiness now and then about the state of the country here, especially as regards the Wahabees, but nothing like serious apprehension. It is, however, curious to see how the existence of war anywhere on a large scale seems to sulphur and brimstonise the atmosphere even at the other side of the globe.'

From Bombay to the same brother: 'I have been in your old quarters at Ceylon, and found you affectionately remembered by many Ceylonians. I was much interested in looking at the College and Cathedral, and various other works of Bishop Chapman. I think a blessing seemed to rest on his work at Colombo, and elsewhere. . . . There were several large and

good Cingalese congregations both in Colombo and near it. I went on to Kandy, which is very beautiful, and the railway journey to it is also very striking.. I had no time to go to Anuradhapura, or Pollonarua, or even Newera Ellia. I made an excursion to a coffee estate, a few miles from Kandy, with a good view of the mountains, and that was all I could do. . . .

I went to see the great Karli cave-temple, toward Poona, yesterday, a curious and rather grand work, but spoilt by unaccountable wooden semicircular ribs over the long arched roof, useless apparently, and certainly ugly.

The famous Bhose Ghat is a fine piece of engineering, and with very grand views. Bombay itself is a beautiful place, rock and tree, and water, and mountain arranged in manifold and varied combinations, with exquisite colouring, fine buildings also of good material. Elephanta is very fine, the old rock temple grand, and the views into it and out of it are lovely. We are staying with Bishop Douglas. He seems an earnest and energetic man, and will work his see well. . . . Our ecclesiastical affairs are not in a very cheerful aspect, as Government does not fill up the vacant chaplaincies, and yet does not inform me of its intentions. I get the complaints, and they the savings, a bad bargain really for both of us. I hope, however, that we are tiding over the deficit, and shall be in a more cheerful condition before long. . . . The telegrams about Russia and its demands have naturally brought the anxiety of Europe nearer to India. Mr. Chisholm Anstey, in his usual mischief-making way, began a speech (in court) saying, "England is unpopular. Income taxes and misgovernment are producing discontent in the mighty races of India, and *Russia moves.*" I believe the effect was rather startling, and the natives opened their ears. Licence of speech is dangerous here, as words are so apt to look bigger than they are in the minds of the native populations. The educated have just such an amount of knowledge as to make them liable to the greatest errors. I expect to start for Calcutta on the 6th, if M——is well enough,

and hope to reach home by the 10th. She will have much to tell me when (D.V.) we meet next week. The marriage of nephews and nieces, and the birth of a grand-nephew, are signs of advancing age. I think M—— will find me looking a good deal older after her ten months' absence, as at my age India tells effectually; not that I am any weaker in strength, only older in looks.'

The ship which brought his sister to Bombay, came into the harbour at daylight, and he went on board at once to welcome her, even before some of the gentlemen whose affianced brides had come out from England in the same ship, and when this was noticed, he smiled, and said, 'Well, I have tried her; they have not tried them.'

He returned with his sister to Calcutta: a short stay at Nassick to see the mission, and a night's rest at Jubbulpore, breaking the long railway journey of over 1,400 miles.

CHAPTER XI.

1871.

Letters about Mandalay Mission—Bishop's College.

SINCE the Bishop's visit to Mandalay, some disagreements had arisen between the resident and the missionary. Inquiries had been made by the Government, and the Bishop had been written to on the subject. He sent the following reply in January 1871:

'I regret extremely the disagreement between the officiating political agent, Major MacMahon, and the Reverend J. Marks, S. P. G. missionary. I venture to observe that the circumstances in which both are placed are trying and difficult in many ways, and that it is far from easy to perceive the wisest course to pursue in dealing with the Burmese court or with the king himself.

'The King of Burma lives, as your Excellency knows, in constant fear of rebellion and assassination. He ventures out of his palace only once a year, and, it is said, takes other precautions in his palace against attempts on his life.

'If any outbreak took place the common idea is that an attack would be made on the British residency to embroil the Burmese Court with the British Government. The agent has no guard save two or three Burmese policemen, and no steamer in which to take refuge. Hence there is a strong feeling of insecurity and of the necessity of extreme caution. This would naturally make Major MacMahon dislike any political interference on the part of an Englishman, especially if connected with himself as political agent by ties having in any way

the appearance of sanction from British authorities. On the other hand, nothing can take place among the Burmans in Mandalay without the king's privity and without his permission.'

'The existence of the school, the attendance of the boys, the visits of the Burmese phoongyees and others to the mission premises, all depend on the king's consent. He would not openly forbid, but would certainly effectually prevent the continuance of any practice which he disapproved of. This Mr. Marks feels convinced of, and it is certainly the case. Hence he feels it his duty to maintain the king's interest in his mission works as necessary for their continuance.

'The king is also certainly fond of conversations with Europeans. When the German *savant*, Dr. Bastian, was in Mandalay, the king kept him for three months in the palace, and Dr. Bastian describes the long conversations on various subjects which his Burmese Majesty carried on with him. I do not believe that political questions, but rather ethical and metaphysical subjects are discussed in these colloquies, in which the king takes by far the largest share of the conversation, in fact preaches Buddhism to a great extent.

'It is possible that the king may fancy that Mr. Marks may have some correspondence with high authorities in England, temporal and spiritual, but I am convinced that he does not imagine him to have any political influence. It must be remembered that the Burmese priests have been, and are to some extent, admitted to much intercourse with the Burmese king, but I do not believe that he admits them to the least political power; he may perhaps use them, as I have heard he does, as informers of the views of his subjects towards the Government, but otherwise he keeps them in strict subjection.

'I have therefore no doubt that the king wishes for frequent visits from Mr. Marks, and likes to talk with him, but I think that these visits and conversations cannot be politically mischievous in any point of view. Mr. Marks considers that it is

necessary (as I have observed) for the development of his usefulness as a missionary to maintain his influence with the king.

'I have myself pointed out to him the need of maintaining sufficient reserve, and generally of guarding against any habits of flattery or undue complaisance, and it is probable that Major MacMahon may have been led to disapprove of Mr. Marks' visits to the king by hearing these warnings of mine.

'With regard to the gold crosses, I wish to observe that when I was at Mandalay, the King of Burma sent to me a letter before I left the city to ask me if he might present me with one. I agreed to accept one if it was of no great value; my reason for accepting it was the following:—

'I had intended to pay the king, with his permission, a private visit. At General Fytche's advice, and by my own wish, I only desired a quiet interview with the king, to thank him for what he had done in building a school and clergy house, and commencing a church for our mission.

'When Major MacMahon expressed a wish to accompany me in this visit, I acquiesced, and informed the Burman authorities. I had asked for some cushion to sit on. I had sent my message through Mr. Marks at first, because I wished the visit to be private. But when I had said that the political agent wished to introduce me, first one objection and then another was raised, and I then gave up the visit.

'I felt therefore unwilling to annoy the king by refusing the cross, which was proposed to me merely as a token of kindness and respect for my office, and which reached me indeed only after the vessel in which I was returning had started on her voyage down the river.

'The brother of the Reverend J. Marks, who is a missionary in Ceylon, has visited Mandalay to receive a copy of the "Pitakas," the sacred book of the Burmese, for the Government of Ceylon, whether with any authority from that Government or not I am not aware. He had with his brother frequent

interviews with the Burmese king, which led to the occurrence of the disagreement between Major MacMahon and Mr. Marks, which has occasioned this correspondence.

'With every regard for Major MacMahon, I cannot see any political meaning or danger in these interviews. When afterwards I visited Ceylon I found that Mr. Marks' brother had brought one or two presents from the King of Burma to the Governor of Ceylon and the Bishop of Colombo, and I believe other persons. I suppose a cross was intended for the Bishop of Colombo, but I do not think one was sent. Little gold cups were the gifts which I saw. The only cross which I heard of was the one given to myself.

'In conclusion I beg to say that the mission work begun in Mandalay by Mr. Marks is important; that on the whole it has been carried on with considerable ability and success, under very difficult circumstances; that the King of Burma has performed the promises which he made in the erection of church, school, and clergy-house; and, as one of the educated Burmese officials (who had been taught in Paris) said to me, that the great want at Mandalay is a band of educated natives who can make head against the general ignorance, treachery, and corruption, it is of considerable moment that the school should flourish, in which some of the king's sons and the children of the higher officials may be instructed and disciplined in European knowledge and Christian morality, whether or no they become converts to the Christian faith. Even this, however, is by no means impossible. I trust your Excellency will excuse the length of this letter.'

In answer to a letter from one of the chaplains about the establishment of a mission by the Scotch Church, 'Central India,' the Bishop wrote, 'is an open and interesting field, and being comparatively new ground, may give us possibly unexpected success. I should be very thankful to see a mission such as you propose established on a permanent footing. It might put itself in communication with the Chanda mission,

and Nehemiah Goṛeh might be useful. He is a Mahratta by birth. In the case of Pollah, who is a remarkable man without doubt, you cannot be too patient. The evading baptism is a common but dangerous idea. If he really receive Christ Jesus for his Saviour, the rest, I hope and trust, will follow in good time. It is the rejection of His Salvation that makes me so fearful of the Brahmo system. . . .'

The state of Bishop's College, Calcutta, its inefficiency, and what he thought it ought to be, is well shown in the following letter, written in the winter of this year to the secretary of the S. P. G. in England.

'I have had no leisure hitherto to write to you on the important subject of Bishop's College, and even now am too distracted by much business and occupation to write at such length and with such care as I could wish. I cannot honestly say that I am satisfied at present with the working of the college; at the same time, I feel the difficulties which are in the way of its becoming what we should wish it to be, the centre of intellectual and spiritual agency for the diocese, if not for India.

'I believe that my opinion is now much in unison with you, and the rest of the Home Committee, as to what is desirable. We have also to consider what is practicable; I proceed, therefore, to offer one or two suggestions, which will be in accordance with the spirit, if not the letter, of Bishop Middleton's statutes, and with the intention of the various contributors to the college funds. The reception of native theological students to be prepared for the ministry and scholastic work, seems the first requisite of all. For this end, teaching power in the native languages is necessary; Bengali, Hindi, Urdu are the languages required. The great prevalence of Hindi, except in the towns (and even there the masses chiefly speak Hindi), is only lately recognised: but it is undoubted.

'The classical Sanskrit, and Persian, are also languages which the teachers should be able to impart, being the basis of the modern languages, and those in which the religious books of the

Hindus and Mahomedans are written, among whom the missionaries must labour.

'Then, secondly, there must be careful provision made in all the missions to ensure (as far as possible) a sure, speedy, and regular supply of young men or lads, prepared for admission to the college, and sufficiently educated to make the college training really useful. The candidate for admission, should, if possible, know English, but I would not advise it as a necessary condition of admission, at all events not at present. The rules of the times and course of tuition for this class should be as flexible as possible, especially at first. There should be provision made for the reception of as many such students as can be accommodated in such buildings as would enable them to live in the simple and cheap way to which they are accustomed, entailing as little change of habits as possible. A great opportunity has been lost in the inability of the college to receive the Kôl students who were anxious to come a year ago, and for whom other arrangements of home education had to be made.

'I do not think that the English class, as it is called, the class to which the college has chiefly been devoted, is of so much importance as the native class; nevertheless, I would not propose any alteration in this class, consisting of Europeans, Eurasians, or English-speaking natives, except that I would discontinue preparation in it for the Calcutta University, unless our teaching staff can be increased.

'Preparation for the university entrance and degrees, entails a great amount of labour on the teachers, and absorbs to a considerable extent the ambition of the pupils. If, however, we could add to our teaching staff, it would be desirable to maintain the preparation, as it is an attraction undoubtedly to able and promising young men, and it is useful to have Christians suited for offices and appointments which give respectable openings in after life. I do not yet see my way to make a university degree a qualification for holy orders, though it may eventually be desirable. This may seem to militate against the former re-

commendations, but would not be in reality a contradiction, because they contemplated a time when there may be numerous candidates for orders, and the growth of a native ministry may require position and high knowledge from those who are to occupy the chief place in that ministry. I think it would be advisable to have a school, I mean a boarding-school, especially for orphans in the college, in which a certain number of boys might be received at a much earlier age—say ten years old—who should receive a thorough Christian education, and who should pay enough to make the school self-supporting. The school should have its own master, who should not be either the principal, vice-principal, or tutor, but a fellow of the college. From among the boys, the cleverest and most devout should be prepared for the theological class afterwards, that from them faithful clergy, catechists, or schoolmasters may be selected.

'There seems to me plenty of room in the college for such an institution, and it would not, in my opinion, interfere in any way with the other operations of the college. The senior English class might furnish undermasters for this school, who might so arrange their time as not to make the school tuition interfere with their private studies to any mischievous extent, and habits of tuition would be very useful to them, if they went out afterwards as missionaries, pastors, or schoolmasters.

'The staff necessary for working the college in this way, would be a principal, a vice-principal, and, if possible, one other tutor with mathematical knowledge for the university preparation, one head-schoolmaster, a pundit, a moulvie, and, if possible, sufficient native teachers for other languages—a Burmese, a Tamil, if necessary. I think that all below the principal should be fellows, that they should be bachelors, and that all should live in a collegiate way, as much in common as possible. The native teachers should be either joined with them, or if a simple style is desirable, should arrange among themselves for their food, &c. The less interference, perhaps, the better. They might be married, and their wives could be with them, if necessary. If

the native school in the neighbourhood of the college can be maintained in connection with the college, it will give a good practising school for the students in Bengali. . . . As to the ways and means, while the intentions of the founders and donors should be carefully kept in view, it has always seemed to me, that the more the moneys belonging to any institution can be thrown into one fund, and apportioned in detail to the various requirements of the institution, ever varying from year to year, the more likely is the real object of the institution and its supporters to be effectually carried out. The more free your hands are, the more freely can you work. . . . If the college is to be used for native students more and more, it is evident that we must be ready to teach in the vernacular, that a knowledge of Sanskrit is almost a necessity, and also the Hindu philosophies both of the past and as existing at present. Moreover, a more exact acquaintance with the floating literature of Bengal newspapers, serials, books for the young, etc., than an Englishman can well attain, is desirable. . . .'

The Bishop's plans for the revival of the college were never carried out. Later, he proposed that it should be made over to the diocese; but this also was refused. In a letter home, he wrote, 'Poor Bishop's College languishes. I wished it to be emancipated, and this the Home Committee has refused. . . . Possibly, if other deficiencies were supplied, this decay might be corrected, and the college become useful, instead of remaining the "cenotaph" of a good idea. . . .' Though his plans were not adopted, he never ceased to take great interest in the college, and to assist the working of it as far as possible.

In 1874, when a new principal was sent out from England, he sends the advice to him, 'to live as much among the students, and have them as much with you as possible. I have just been reading Bishop Patteson's Life, and see in his continual association with his scholars, one great secret of his influence and success. It was the same with Liddon and King at Cuddesdon.'

'This constant association with the students gave that

wonderful development and force of spiritual life visible in almost all the Cuddesdon students afterwards. Your predecessors in the college, even such a man as Dr. Kay, failed in influencing the men as much as might have been expected from their great ability, learning, and devotion, on account of a certain coldness and distance which left the students really too much to their own hearts' desires.

'I hope you are guarding against such lack of affectionate confidence by constant (though of course authoritative) intercourse with the students. It is really a very great and solemn work with which you are entrusted, and I am extremely anxious for your success. You are entrusted with those who ought to be leaders and champions in the warfare of Christ in India, "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds," and it requires real and true devotion to rise or even aspire to the height of the responsibility. I think, besides the morning and evening prayer, a midday service with especial devotions for the college for students for missions, such as they had at Cuddesdon, *mutatis mutandis*, is very desirable, almost a necessity in such an institution as the college.'

CHAPTER XII.

1871.

Extracts from Second Charge—Opinion of Mission Schools and Government Schools.

THE Bishop delivered his second charge to the clergy in March 1871. After alluding to different events which had happened in Europe, he spoke of the increase of the Episcopate for India.

'Under an Act of Henry VIII., the bishops in England have been enabled to obtain necessary assistance by the consecration of suffragan bishops to whom they can commit part of their own dioceses which, if not in size, yet in population and requirements, have outgrown the ability of any diocesan, however active and persevering.

'If not actually from the number of clergy and of Christians yet from the vast extent of this diocese, and the distinction of its constituent provinces, each huge and populous as a European kingdom, I feel the need of such relief myself. I do not grudge the labour in any way which is entailed upon me by the size of my diocese. But it is plain that a more intimate acquaintance with both clergy and laity, a truer knowledge of difficulties and wants, and greater ability to lay them before the public and ask for the necessary remedies; in short, a general quickening of spiritual life would follow from some division of my charge.

'With respect, however, to the establishment or increase of the Episcopate, it must be remembered that there is a great and real distinction between existing or future colonies, as we may call them, and fields of directly and exclusively missionary

labour. I think this distinction is not at all times clearly recognised. . . .

'In countries where colonies are grown up, growing, or to grow, as in the North American provinces, in Australia, New Zealand, the South African regions and elsewhere, it is desirable that the Episcopate should be formed on a considerable scale with a view to the future, not merely to the present, because we expect to see so many new Englands in those countries.

'But where it is not probable that our countrymen will settle and make a home, and originate a nation, the establishment or increase of the Episcopate appears a different question, and its expediency must be determined upon different grounds. If you contemplate a native Church of the future, it seems to me that you must keep your foreign machinery within the limits of present utility or necessity. You should look to the native population and Church to supply its Ministry and the various orders of that Ministry.'

After speaking of other matters he returned to the subject of the increase of the Episcopate.

'Considering what the Church of the future is likely to be, it would be unadvisable, even if possible, to increase to any large extent the number of European bishops; as the native Church grows and multiplies, it will be able to furnish its own pastors and rulers.

'The Church in India is rather a part of the English Church than a Colonial Church, and if disestablishment spread it would probably share the fortune of the Church in England.'

He pointed out that this was a call to all earnest members of the Church, whether clergy or laity, to learn the art of co-operation. The Church committees which had been formed are intended to give a standing ground for such united action.

'Such co-operation is involved in the very idea of the Church; it is becoming more and more an absolute necessity if the work of the Church is to prosper under God's blessing. It ought to be a refreshment and encouragement to every minister

of God. . . . The committees are to be elected from year to year, nevertheless it is desirable as far as possible to maintain the same committee when it is practicable. . . .'

'In many points the English Church in India is what it was in England twenty or thirty years ago. In many cases improvements (gradually made) are desirable. But I need not say that mutual forbearance (in case of difference of opinion) is a prominent duty among Christians. . . .'

'The state of the chancels, and the arrangements for Holy Communion, are, in my judgment, in many cases inadequate for the dignity of that Sacrament, which all Christians recognise as the crowning act of Christian worship. . . .'

'If any one regards the Holy Communion as a mere commemorative sign, he contravenes the words of Scripture and the formularies of the Church.'

He spoke of the different societies which required support, and then gave some practical directions with regard to Confirmation and Communion classes, and some advice about greater care in the preparation of sermons. Whatever stock of ideas he himself had accumulated, he felt that without daily reading he would soon grow arid and jejune. 'Without new thoughts in sermons, they became a mere perfunctory utterance of the commonplaces in religion.'

Mission work in his diocese was practically a hundred years younger than in the South, but there was a total of 30,000 natives incorporated into the Church. The number was steadily increasing. 'The ratio of highly educated converts, men of position and ability, was also on the increase.' He dwelt on this increase because some members of the Brahmo Samaj had begun to boast that it had checked the evangelisation of India.

'It is possible that for a season there may be fewer converts. The Samaj certainly offers a kind of halting-place for men who have rejected the ancient superstitions and idolatries, but cannot bring themselves to take the decided step of baptism, which

parts them evidently—irrevocably—from their old society. It also, by the rejection of revelation, leaves young men, or men ambitious of intellectual position, to remain in the vague theism so much in vogue at the present day.'

'Thus (and in other ways) it furnishes a standpoint for men who are too highly educated for the caste prejudices of their ancestral home, who cannot, or who do not desire to, face the sacrifices necessary for admission into the Christian Church.

'Not unnaturally many in this condition begin to oppose Christianity as having an exclusive claim upon the faith of man, and speak of their society and its views as superior to the Christian Church, and offer the broken fragments of Christian opinion and morality, which they have formed into a kind of code, for the Pearl of great price. They speak disparagingly in particular of Christian missions and missionaries, and proclaim that they have checked evangelisation.

'This is not the case with all the members of the society. I think that those who utter their sarcasms against the Church and the missionary are rather repeating the utterances of Positivists and Secularists in or from Europe and America. There are certainly others who feel more deeply their obligations to the past and present labours of the Christian Church in this land, and I certainly hope that the leaders and nobler minds in the party will soon recognise that the great objects which they have proposed to themselves can only be effected through the Cross of Christ, and that their awakened consciences, and the spirit of devotion and love within them, will see that in Christ alone, and in His atonement, they can find true union with God, and true power to be profitable to men. The Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man can only be fully reached and enjoyed through Him, who being God and man, is the Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus, in Whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, in Whom God and man meet and are reconciled; through Whom we receive the life of God, and "comprehend the length, and breadth,

and depth, and height, and know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge that we may be filled with all the fulness of God."'

'Men cannot continue long to take some of the words of Christ and reject others, to praise Him in some points and condemn Him in others. He must become, is becoming to some the Rock of Salvation, to others the Stone of Stumbling and Rock of Offence, according as they accept Him or reject Him. My brethren,' he continued, 'it is our duty to pray day and night that all these higher and nobler minds may be drawn on into the full truth. Their labours for the benefit of India may be useful eventually in preparing the way for that reconstruction of society here which seems only possible on a Christian basis. They are not, therefore, to be considered as checking the evangelisation of India. One reason is sufficient. It is *not* checked. It is flowing on with the same quiet but effectual stream. Its course may not be rapid as with the early conversions of Xavier, as with those of the Dutch in Ceylon, in the days of the dominion of Portugal or Holland. But it is, what they were not, true, real, permanent, as far as it extends. It will not, therefore, be checked, because there is life in it.'

The Bishop then describes in his charge how, in the previous year, he had visited the large and ancient Syrian Church, consisting of 300,000 Christians. 'They were for a time brought nominally in a body under the dominion of Rome by Archbishop Menezes, but soon the larger number threw off the yoke, and are now under the government of a superior Metran and two other Metrans. The chief metran, Mar Athanasius, came to visit me at Cottyam, and I had much interesting conversation with him and his companions.

'I also saw many of the Catanars (or parish priests), and visited the theological college of their Church at Cottyam. I attended their service, and saw some of their schools and houses. There has been a great improvement among them of late. . . . I believe that they have expunged from their Liturgies the unortho-

dox or superstitious passages, and translated the greater portion of their service into the Malayalim, the indigenous language. . . . It was very interesting to see their numerous churches along the line of streams and lakes which form the Backwater, as it is called, for a couple of hundred miles along the coast of Travancore. The cleanly and smiling faces of the families, the manly look of the men, their cultivated gardens and tidy homes, seemed to give outward demonstration of the beneficent powers of Christianity, of the fulfilment of the assurance that godliness is profitable for all things, and an encouragement to hope for the future conversion of India, and for the development of the connection between the apostolic preaching and that of our own day.'

He went on to say that missionary education was a much agitated problem. 'There was much question as to the Christian results, but he thought they should still continue the attempt. There were the great Government educational establishments, from which the least shadow of religion was carefully excluded, and to which large sums were devoted. . . . Notwithstanding their existence, the Mission schools and colleges flourished. They must look to these schools and colleges for what Dr. Duff called, "the creating a conscience.". . .'

'The missionaries have to waken the first germs of spiritual life. Education must elicit those of intellectual, and to some degree, of moral life, before the Holy Truth can penetrate through the crust of custom into the soul. . . .'

'In Burma, Christianity comes into contact, not with the Hinduism or Mahomedanism of India, but with Buddhism. It is a remarkable religion—I think the purest and most enlightened form of heathenism, where, as in Burma, it is free from the intermixture of the Shivaism which has mingled with it in Nepal and in Ceylon, and the superstitions of Thibet or China. I have more hope that the Buddhist will soon become receptive of Christianity. He has a truer conscience on the whole, a better law, a purer exemplar, than Hindu or

Mahomedan. He is free from the caste of the one, the bigotry of the other. Education, though of a scanty character, is very generally diffused. Every Burmese male can read and write. The Phoongyees are Burmese monks; there are also (notwithstanding Mr. Cox)[1] a few Burmese nuns. They are spread over the whole country. Every kyoung, or monk's house, has its greater or larger company of monks. It is the school and teaching house of the village. Each has its house of prayer and preaching, or rather reading of the law. There are gay festivals of religion. There are solemn fasts, and reverent practices, and all seem to know the rules of their strange devotion.

'It is addressed, in a sense, to a non-existent being. They pray for they know not what—for *nirwana* or *neibhan*, nothingness, extinction, annihilation eventually; yet they pray. They do not worship idols, yet I believe the images of Gaudama, numberless as they are in temple, shrine, cave-field, kyoung, enclosure, everywhere, give what Dr. Newman would call the concrete idea of the Godhead to them.

'Day by day they keep their rules, and day by day the monks go forth in their saffron gowns, reflections of the golden glory of Buddha, with their eyes fixed, with their bowl in their hands, to receive (not ask for) the charities of the bountiful. They have adhered to their constitution with greater fidelity than the Roman orders, and on the whole they bear a fair character.'

'But in their law, God, and man's relation to Him, are absolutely wanting, and so He is wanting in their lives. The religion gave me the impression of childishness—cheerful, but thoughtless childishness. It does not apparently restrain the temper, or give any depth of purpose to the heart. Certainly, however, there is an amiable spirit on the whole, which makes me hope and trust, that when our missions there have got thoroughly to work, they may make more rapid progress than among the deep precipices of the prejudices and self-satisfaction of Hindustan. . . .'

[1] See *Comparative Mythology of Aryans.*

'The Santhal mission of the Church Missionary Society is very promising, and though it has not been long at work its converts are already numerous. . . . The Kôl mission continues to flourish. The events which led to the division among the German missionaries have been sufficiently explained. My conduct as well as that of the S. P. G. has been criticised, and that with some malignity, and in much ignorance of the truth. It met with the approval of the highest civil authorities, I mean the late Viceroy, and the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, more likely to be impartial judges on this point than missionary societies. . . . I have no reason to doubt that I was guided by God's grace (as I prayed to be) in the course which I adopted. I trust that the Berlin committee have recognised the unavoidable character of the step I took, in receiving those whom they had, under a sad misapprehension, cast out.'

He mentioned that a new missionary college had been opened at Lahore, in which Oriental languages and customs (as far as they are good) were to be used in training and disciplining the pupils for future missionary work.

After giving an account of his own ministerial work, he said in conclusion, 'I have thus, my dear brethren, taken a brief review of the past three years as relating to our special work, and to the prospects opening out before us, and the calls made upon us by them. The spiritual aspect of the world is such as, while giving many hopeful and encouraging signs, may yet fill us with deep anxiety. The solemn forebodings of the Lord Himself, "When the Son of Man cometh shall He find faith in the world?" "Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold," seem to be repeating themselves in our ears in pathetic and warning tones.

'The warnings of the Apostles that men will arise who will say, "Where is the promise of His coming? for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were;" their prophecy of the wicked or rather Lawless one, that dark shape who shall exalt himself to be as God, take new meaning, and ring with

solemn tones through the aisles and arches of the Church of Christ.'

'Amidst the advantages of civilisation, the benefits of increasing culture, the developments of science, the multiplied means of intercourse, the augmenting wealth, the increasing freedom of the nations—amidst the glare and glitter, the sparkle and brightness of human hopes and human boastings over the accumulation of earth's good things, the pleasures of society and knowledge, the advantages, intellectual and moral, which men seem to be gathering for themselves; the dark shadow of that form seems to show itself threatening to hide heaven and God and the Cross of His dear Son, and the world to come from men's eyes. We seem to hear the Tempter's voice, pointing to these earthly glories, and promising to give us all these things if we will only fall down and worship him; and there appear too many knees ready to bow, and too many high-minded and able intellects ready to fall prostrate and adore, to worship the world and its forces, or the order of nature or collective humanity, in preference to the Personal and Living God, the Judge of all, by Whom actions are weighed.'

'But if there is darkness, there is also light, if gloomy shadows stream ever through the Church of God, threatening the establishment of the abomination of desolation in the very sanctuary, nevertheless there are also bright and blessed streams of light pouring in around us from the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. There are blessed charities, there is a spirit of love, drawing gradually together earnest and devout hearts, and kindling a longing for complete reunion among the various Christian bodies, which have been too much divided and estranged. There is a deeper devotion, a truer sense of our weakness and fallibility growing up in religious men, a greater readiness in men and women to give themselves up to Christ's service with the most complete self-surrender. Among the earnest and faithful servants of God, there appears to me, in particular, a humility which is ever deepening, a tenderness ever

waxing fresher and fresher, a widening sympathy, a truer appreciation of points of union, and a closer grasping of those golden chains of Divine love, which often, imperceptibly to the understanding, bind men together with the charities of heaven for the highest and the holiest purposes. More of the spirit of grace and supplication seems pouring round about us, that men may look on Him whom they have pierced, and behold that perfect love which streams out from His wounds, that revelation of God which is manifest in His pierced heart, and may hear and re-echo the voice of that blood "which speaketh better things than that of Abel," and calls all men unto Him with the groanings which cannot be uttered, the ineffable accents of his unceasing invitation, "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me." "I am the root and offspring of David, and the Bright and Morning Star." "And the Spirit and the Bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely."

'My brethren, I trust we have heard the call, that call which is old, but ever new, which, the oftener we accept it, is the oftener repeated, and ever in newer, sweeter, and more heart-inspiring accents.'

'Do we not need ourselves more of this spirit? Should we not seek it, that we ourselves may partake more in that spirit of patience, fervour, wisdom, and devotion, which ever comes from a contemplation of Christ's Cross? Ought we not, while faithful to the truth, to eliminate all party spirit, all paltry jealousies, all vain restlessness, all cowardly fears, and all false shame from our hearts? Ought we not "to prove all things," not to reject or despise the recommendations or practices of others, merely because they differ from us, without reason, without experience? Ought we not to prove all things, and then hold fast that which is good, remembering that in God's kingdom there will be both antiquity and novelty; the past, the present, the future, flowing on in one great and varying

stream, from the one fountain to the final consummation, inasmuch as every scribe, instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, is "like a householder, who bringeth out of his treasure things new and old"?

'He does not cast off the old, because it is old, nor reject the new from its unaccustomed aspect. He can unite, and employ, and fuse them together into heavenly weapons, for the great warfare of love. He can knead and compound them into diviner raptures for the marriage supper of the Lamb. He can wait until he who at first saith the old is better, has learned the taste of the new wine growing out of the fulness of Christ into the institutions and services of His Church, or into the practices and rules of devotion and love. The glorious liberty of the children of God will be his portion and inheritance, though it may be with reproach or persecution for a season. He will not shrink from the triumphs of science, from sympathy in the world's progress, because he is persuaded that the Truth of God is One, that he possesses the highest Truth, and that all other truth will be assimilated by it. While he faithfully carries out the rule of the Church—and this, my brethren, is higher than we often imagine, witness its daily service, its directions for our mode of life, by no means always carried out—he yet will remember that it is Christ's way to lead on from glory to glory, to bring new lights out of those which He has already kindled, to introduce new means of serving and glorifying Him, to transfigure the old methods into higher and holier services, not by abolishing, but by elevating them—even as He will not destroy these bodies of ours, but clothe them upon with immortality, nor annihilate the heaven and earth, which now are, but bring out of them the new heaven and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.'

'I do not make light of our difficulties. I am not unconscious of the diversity and uncertainty of the sound of our Church's voice; nor do I make light of the divisions and distractions among good men, which sometimes make the brain reel and the heart faint. I am not deaf to the boasts of those who speak of

the Gospel glory as fading and departing—writing amid the brighter illuminations, as they call them, of civilisation and knowledge,—a rag of the past, or a swaddling band of infancy to be flung from the limbs of the growing giant Humanity.'

'If any saying is continually recurring to my mind, it is that of the Psalmist, crying, "So foolish was I, and ignorant even as it were a beast before Thee."'

'As the knowledge of God is attained, our own knowledge dwindles into nothingness before our eyes. As human knowledge is of a higher sphere than the understanding of the brute, so we recognise the higher nature of the Divine knowledge, when we have learned to own it, and believe in it. Thus we know our need of Divine revelation, and we know it is the Supreme knowledge before which all reason and understanding must bow in silent worship; the seraphim of intellect must cast down their crowns, and veil their faces, adoring with their star-covered wings. What is so reasonable, says St. Augustine, as to submit our reason to God when God in His love requires this submission.'

'On the consciousness of this great truth depends our spiritual communion with Him in whom were hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. And if, in the deep consciousness of our ignorance, we seek in ceaseless, faithful prayer for that wisdom which cometh down from above, it will not fail us, but the Spirit which rested upon Jesus, will rest also upon us, the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge and true godliness, and the Spirit of God's holy fear; and we, uttering the confession of the Psalmist in his weakness, shall also have the confidence of his strength: "Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel, and after that receive me with glory."'

These are only extracts from the charge, which is very long, and very full of matter bearing on the concerns of the Church in England as well as in India.

Though the European part is passed over in these extracts, his opinions on one or two important points should not be omitted

'As to the ritual,' he wrote, 'the Vestment question is yet undecided; the use of incense, the elevation of the elements for adoration, postures of adoration, the lighting candles for Holy Communion have been condemned; and the decree of the court has been in one case enforced by the suspension of Mr. Mackonochie for three months, for transgressing the previous decree.'

'Feeling, I suppose, the very trifling character of these externals in themselves, both defenders and assailants have endeavoured to connect them with special doctrines, to involve the dogma in a wreath of smoke, or wrap it up in a piece of silk. I need scarcely say that the Courts reject such association. They view the questions simply according to the regulations of the English Church.'

'Those practices, however, which go by the name of ritualism are, in my belief, alien from the rules and spirit of the English Church, and contrary to its formularies. I believe, also, that their introduction has marred a great work which the energy and devotion of many men would have accomplished. As it is, these men have done much, have gathered in and converted many souls, have taught them the true life in God. Without those needless ceremonies, they would have done more, far more, in my opinion, and would not have revived the spirit of antagonism and controversy, which is the bane of our Church, so far that Associations have been actually formed for the very purpose of promoting legal prosecutions.'

Though in the charge he gives it as his opinion that Mission schools should be maintained, it is well known that he was not satisfied with the manner in which they were conducted, or the mode in which religion was taught in them. The practice of *uniting* Christians and heathens in prayer he especially condemned, as making the prayer an unreality to the Christian, whilst the heathen were either indifferent or scoffing.

There are continual references to this in the journals, some passages from which are quoted here instead of dating them from

the places at which they were written, as they might hurt the feelings of men to some of whom he was much attached, and they apply to most of the Mission schools in India, as well to those belonging to the Church of England as to those of other denominations.

At first he speaks with hesitation, and says he may not be able to judge, from his imperfect knowledge of the people and language; but later, when his experience is greater, he expresses very distinctly his dissatisfaction with the system. Of one school in 1869, he wrote: 'There was no Christian boy in the school. I was asked to say a few words, which I did, but I cannot appreciate very highly the school Mission work. Its results are very doubtful—I am not sure whether better than those of Government schools.' Again in 1871, when he had been all over India, he makes a definite complaint. 'Here there seems to be the same misunderstanding of the method of teaching Christianity to absolute heathen, which is so universally prevalent. They are taught the facts, say, of the old Testament history, without any real spiritual interpretation. The difficulties are neither pointed out nor solved. I cannot see that the consciences are even awakened, much less formed or disciplined by the Scriptural instruction. I am going, indeed, now, on small grounds, as I did not hear much; but the plan is so palpable, and to me so palpably painful, that a little of it is enough to manifest and condemn it. I fear that I shall not be able to get the missionaries to share my feelings. They seem wedded everywhere to this strange unbusiness-like and really unchristian system, and I cannot get much attention paid to my suggestions. At least no alteration is apparent.' And again: 'There is no system of Christian instruction. The missionaries never seem to have any definite idea or plan in their minds. They are very often unsound and inaccurate in many points. Calvinism in any shape is especially unsuited to Indian missions. Altogether, I fear, that while Mission schools seem a necessity, they are, as they are worked now, very unlikely to have any definite Christian results. . . . The

Government school undermines the superstitions as much as the Mission school. Whether the latter schools do not in some cases actually prejudice the truth, is a difficult question.' There is a later entry: 'They sang hymns. Christian hymns seemed out of place in the mouths of children who were mostly heathen, but this is the way of missions, and I think one of the causes of insufficient success, as there is the usual want of distinction between Christians and non-Christians. Again, all unite in Christian prayer, and make Christian answers, which they do not even profess to believe.'

'I had much talk with Mr. —— on this point, who seemed struck by my remarks; I asked him to think the matter over. He told me that he had discharged a master because he had not opened the school with such prayers; but he had not previously considered the matter, nor entered into the particular point of *uniting* heathen in one prayer with Christians.' One more quotation may be given: 'The religious teaching seemed of the usual indefinite and ineffectual description: the Hindustani catechism taught by a Mussulman master in the most perfunctory way. I could not get —— to see the danger. There is an odd clinging to the brief and weak tradition of method in missionary work, which is one of the reasons of their comparative ill-success. They have no real plan of Christian instruction. The teaching is generally very haphazard, irreverent, and unmeaning.'

In a letter, he said: 'I know well the aching sense which these great mission schools, without definite Christian results, produce on the mind. . . . We must not be impatient. This *was* the normal condition of missions in India and their schools; I do not say that better things may not be hoped for.'

Of the Government schools he wrote: 'They are, and must become more and more, schools of infidelity. It is very saddening, especially when we consider what might have been done if Government had been less prejudiced against Christianity officially.'

'At a Government college, which takes the highest and richest class of native boys, a man was at the head who had not been to church for fourteen years. I was sadly grieved to hear this was the case. When he first came out he seemed really religious. Alas! the fatal adoption of 'no religion' as a principle in schools, its certain result seems irreligion in the teacher. It is, indeed, as far as I can judge, plainly inevitable in the logical sequence of consequences.'

In his charge he had said: 'A school, to be really efficient, should have a really distinctive religious character, of which a religious man may take charge, while the most perfect equality should prevail. France was flooded by M. Villemain with socialist schoolmasters in the reign of L. Philippe. The mischief they did was extraordinary. I believe that the troubles, corruption, and failures of France resulted in great measure from the weakening of the individual character of the generation which passed through their hands. . . . To take charge of irreligious schools, you must, for the most part, have irreligious teachers.'

CHAPTER XIII.

1871.

Panchayat, or Church Councils—Benares—Allahabad—Curious Trials—Lucknow—Revivalism among Natives—Mussoorie—Daily Service—Lectures on Difficulties in Religion—Account of Books read during his Stay at Mussoorie—Letters to England on Various Subjects—To the Archdeacon about Emigrant Coolies to Jamaica and about the Hill Schools.

DURING the visitation of part of the N.W. Provinces, on his way to Mussoorie in March, the Bishop officiated at a service for the native Christians at Jamalpore, and after the service recommended them to appoint a *panchayat*, or Church council, to consider the question of the election of a reader or catechist. 'If any such step is taken, it may give more sense of cohesion to the *disjecta membra* of the little Christian flock. In this diocese the congregations are too often without organisation, and seem helpless without a European missionary. Speaking generally, and of more important places, the art of self-government ought to be instilled into Christians at as early a period as possible. In the South this seems to have been done, and with much success. We have been behindhand in Upper India. The Church councils which are now established in several places will obviate the evil in great measure.'

'It is advisable also to have native churches and chapels on the highways of the cities, as many heathen are drawn in, and hear what they would not else hear much more effectually than in the streets or bazaars, and see also Christian worship, about which they make, I am assured, strange mistakes: e.g. that in baptism a piece of pork is put into the lips, etc. Moreover,

men of higher position or education who would not stand in the streets to listen are attracted into a place of worship, and can sit down and listen throughout. It is plain that here opportunities are offered to the preacher if he can avail himself of them.'

Several heathen were present when the Bishop preached in Hindustani at Benares, and, as some adults were baptised during the service, pointed out the place of baptism in the Christian economy, and the danger of irresolution as shown in avoiding the rite.

There were several heathen also at the Confirmation of sixty-nine natives, when the Bishop made two addresses in Hindustani.

While on the same visitation he gave a lecture to the educated natives of Benares on 'Epic Poetry: its position in the history of man, its influence on his spiritual development, and so, on his endless destiny.' 'I spoke for an hour and a half. The room was dark, but there seemed a considerable number present. May God in His mercy give some fruit to the concluding exhortation to more wholesome food than the airy nothings of the imagination. I appealed to the natural pride of Benares.' He gave another version of this lecture at Lucknow, but he doubted whether they could understand him there as well as the 'Kassians'[1] at Benares.

'One of the missionaries told me that a statue of Shiva was stolen out of a small temple near the mission at Benares. He was accused of the theft, but having been absent in England at the time no amount of false witnessing could make anything against him. Afterwards a Brahmin said, in a large gathering of Brahmins, the god could not bear the singing in the church close by, and so went away into the sky. I am thankful the singing continues, and Shiva has not returned!'

'Mr. Smith, the venerable head of the mission at Benares, tells me that he was assured by the steward of the late Rajah of Vizianagram that in Benares, which has at the most a popula-

[1] Kási the ancient name for Benares.

tion of 200,000, probably considerably less, there are 40,000 Baenhath walas, or Shaktites, who maintain the theory attributed of old to the Carpocratians, or the *illuminati* among the Manichees, the duty, i.e. of the utmost self-indulgence of all the passions, with a view to the resulting freedom from desire.

'This steward or dewan was an able and earnest man, a thorough Hindu, and therefore not biassed in his opinion by Christian influences. The statement certainly sounds awful, but the life under the surface of Indian society is very different from what it is often imagined to be, or from the description, say of Keshub Chunder Sen, or the Indophilists at home. This is manifest from Dr. Chever's "Indian Medical Jurisprudence."'

A wealthy Sikh gentleman from Umritsur, Sardar Dayal Singh, came to see the Bishop during his stay at Benares. 'He and Mr. Smith and myself had much talk about the need and possibility and credentials of a revelation. He quoted Francis Newman, laid stress upon the difficulties of the genealogies, the anticipation of the doctrine of the Logos by Plato. We endeavoured to put things in a right light. He seemed pleased with the conversation, and will, I believe, think over what was said. He was expecting Imadudin,[2] who I hope may benefit him. He was a stout manly fellow, a son of the noted Lena Singh.'

Allahabad had lately become the seat of government for the North-West Provinces, and the Bishop spent Holy Week and Easter there, to endeavour to stir people up to more spiritual life, zeal, and devotion, by holding a mission with frequent services and sermons. Every morning he gave an address at the celebration of Holy Communion. The first, on Death, in its various aspects; the two last on the victory of life in God, and the victory through Christ. Every evening, except when he held a confirmation, he preached at one of the churches.

On Good Friday his sermon, at the Fort church, was on 'the precious blood of Christ,' its preciousness in itself, as life, and as showing forth the love of God to sinners, and its effects:

[2] See the account, p. 81

1st, ransoming; 2nd, cleansing. At the native service, he preached in Hindustani.

On Easter Sunday there was an unusually large number of communicants, the effect, no doubt, of the stirring words during the previous week, when the Bishop tried to inspire his hearers with some of his own fervour and devotion, to draw them to a higher sense of life and its duties.

One day he went to hear a debate in the Council Chamber on the imposition of land cesses, under the new decentralisation system, to make up the necessary income for the North-West Provinces. 'The simplicity of the proceedings struck me, when I considered the vast interests at stake, and the number of people influenced by its proceedings.'

One of the judges at Allahabad gave the Bishop an account of two trials which had come before him. 'One, a case of Suttee, where the woman was burnt, and the superintending Brahmin was condemned to six years' imprisonment, the man who lent the field for the pyre to the same, and others to less terms.

'The second, an extraordinary case of fearful superstition. A man, a soldier, came to his family, and said, Devi had told him to have his head cut off. He should be made quite happy, and his head would be restored to its place. They said they were Brahmins, and could not shed blood, but sent for a butcher, who cut off the man's head. They sat round, waiting for its replacement, but when Devi did nothing, they informed the police. Here, also, the men were punished. Curious and difficult cases, in which it seems hard to punish severely, but where punishment is needed to create a sense of evil.'

Lucknow he found greatly improved. 'It has become what my predecessor, Bishop Cotton, anticipated, a fine Orient-European city, or station. I hardly know which to call it. The new houses are mostly in good taste, and the old native town looks dwindled into insignificance.'

The chief commissioner, General Barrow, who had taken

great interest in beautifying the city, and in the improvement of the natives, was seriously ill at the time of the Bishop's visit. He was very popular with the natives, who were said to be distributing 200 rupees in alms daily for his recovery.

An American Methodist preacher had been at work there for some time in active antagonism to the Church. 'It was he who received an imaginary convert from the Brahmo Samaj, who had been suddenly converted in a revival fashion, and had been baptised at once; but he relapsed as suddenly, and as only a week had elapsed between his profession and baptism, it is not to be wondered at that he fell back. This revival system among natives seems ill-suited to them and to missionary work. I think in Colombo we saw its mischievous results. Mr. Taylor, the American preacher whom I met in Ceylon, had been at Lucknow, and had spread the ideas of revivalism in the Lucknow people, though not to any great extent. However it may work (and I have no opinion of it) among Christians, it is singularly unsuitable, in my judgment, for heathen missions. Certainly the contemptuous view of other missionaries and mission work which it generates must disturb harmonious working of various bodies side by side.'

'The chaplain also seemed to feel that the American Methodists were opposing him, and endeavouring to draw away his flock and his candidates for confirmation. This was painful to hear. Alas for our divisions! and their consequences!'

The station church had been much improved since 1867, 'altar-cloth, hangings, etc., provided, all handsome, and in good taste. I think, in India, such arrangements are generally liked. I hope, however, there will be no over-doing of these externals, or over-valuing them. Hard, earnest, faithful, godly work is what is everywhere most appreciated by our hard-working Indian laymen.'

The Bishop had taken 'Bassett Hall,' at Mussoorie, for a few months, and he arrived there with his sister on the 22nd of April. The house had a fine view over the Dun, and the plains

beyond. The season was unusually wet, and alternations of rain and cloudy mists of a dense and uncomfortable description hid most of the beauties of the place.

The first Sunday the Bishop refused to take any officiating part in the service at church, 'as,' he said, 'I felt I ought to rest my brain for a day.' Almost the only record of the kind in the journal.

Bassett Hall was situated very near the church, where there was daily service, and the Bishop wrote: 'It is a very great comfort getting back to daily service, morning and evening, and I am very thankful to have the opportunity. It would be desirable if *this* rule of the Church was generally observed. It would save us from the accusation of prayerlessness in great measure, or of mere sabbatarianism, and would contribute much to raise the tone and character of the clergy. Surely it is more important than setting a man at the North *End*. Yet the Ritual Commission seemed inclined to relax the former rule, because it is so often broken. While, on the other hand, the Judicial Committee maintain that "before" means on either or any side, and would restrict our liberty. I do not see how it can be denied that this is to make a real change in the rubric, however it may be denominated merely an interpretation.'

In another place he says, 'It is pleasant to have daily service, and if two or three can come, it is a fulfilment of the Church's rule, and has a special comfort to the earnest minister of Christ, remembering especially the three or four present when the Lord suddenly visited the Temple for the first time as a Babe, in the flesh.'

Strongly as he always expressed his opinion on the subject of the necessity of daily service, one saying of his should be recorded with regard to it. 'There is a great danger in the daily service superseding or shortening private prayer. To be effectual, it should be balanced by more, rather than by less, private prayer.' Once a week in Mussoorie church, during his stay, he gave lectures on the present difficulties in religion, and

their practical solution in Christ crucified. These lectures were remarkable for depth of thought, and the skilful treatment of a difficult subject; but the continual wet weather, and possibly their depth, made the attendance on them not so large as it ought to have been; but he said, 'I hope, however, I have myself thought over several problems with greater care and exactness in consequence, and, if opportunity should occur, have prepared myself to discuss these points with greater patience, humility, and comprehension.'

Another day in each week he rode up to Landour, the military station, to give lectures, which were well attended.

A box of books had been sent to him from England—'most of it a mass of unorthodoxy, but *I* hope the reading may be useful.'

His study of the languages was carried on with a Munshi, all the time he was at Mussoorie. Of his reading, in the little leisure he gave himself at this season, he says, 'I worked at Persian and Hindustani, and a little at Bengali, and read Baumgarten, Ewald, Hare, re-read "Ecce Homo," read Keim, Noach, a wonderful piece of clever blasphemy, Hilgenfeld, Hofman, began Strauss, read Sepp, Renan, and dipped into others. What a wonderful literature it is, all concentering on the life of Jesus, however different the views may be. May God keep me from all error, and sanctify me in His truth. "Thy word is truth." It certainly comes out more and more as *the* truth, the more it is studied.'

'It is curious to see Noach scoffing at the "Swabian" and the "Gallic cock" for the feebleness of their unbelief and negation, yet gradually becoming more and more wrapped up in the person of the Lord, and unable to divest himself of the attraction, "He being lifted up, draws all men unto Him."

'I read Darwin. The facts a wonderful assembly. The theory seems without any foundation on the facts. The utmost he can be said to prove is, that it is just possible, with geological eras, to imagine that all existing animals may have been

evolved out of the Ascidian molluscoid, through any haphazard descent, up to man. There is a grandeur and a simplicity in the evolution theory when thoroughly worked out, which may dazzle people for a time, but it cannot be tested. There is no *evidence* of the transition animals, the transition vegetables, the transition nebulous matters, by which the various results must have come into being. Otherwise, if received with "meekness and fear" the hypothesis might represent the way in which the actual existing universe (as far as we know it) has been produced by the creative power of God *αἰῶνες τῶν αἰώνων*.'

The Bishop remained four months at Mussoorie, but during that period made several visitations, the journeys chiefly on horseback, to Annfield, the Christian native village in the Dun, to consecrate a church, to Chukrata, a new sanitarium for the soldiers, where there was no church, but where a parade service was held in the open air, and Holy Communion was celebrated in a little prayer-room. The Bishop thus described the consecration of the cemetery at this last place: 'The troops were mustered, and we had a large assembly, strikingly gathered as on an amphitheatre on the hill-side. We had the prayers, a hymn was sung, and I made an address. We were amused by what one of the women said afterwards, expressing how she had felt the service, having buried a baby a short time before: "Oh, it was them college caps." She had been brought up at Cambridge, a gyp's daughter, and our caps had carried her back to the sights of her youth.'

Derband, a mountain between two and three thousand feet above Chukrata, made a beautiful ride one morning, with 'a splendid view of two hundred and fifty miles of snow, which, however, we only saw partially and fitfully among clouds and bursts of sunshine.'

Roorkee and Dehra were the two last places he went to, returning between each expedition to Mussoorie.

In July he wrote to the cousin who had sent them out:

'I am endeavouring to work through the books at any spare time. I have rather forgotten my German, and the new German is different from the old. However, it is better to have books in the original. The ideas of some are startling even beyond expectation; the worst scoffs of Celsus dressed up in modern critical colouring, and enunciated with the most solemn and pedantic affirmation. Strauss the Swabian, and Renan, the Gallic cock, are characterised as poor timid muddlers and bunglers. . . . Do not forget to send me any striking work as soon as it comes out—I know we shall agree as to what is striking—and I want books. Anything important either of faith or infidelity I am glad of. . . . I am writing to the Duke of Argyle about a Lahore bishopric. . . . I had rather have a regular full-winged legal bishop if I can, as we are here so entirely Establishmentarian. Missionary bishops ought to be chiefly native; except an English missionary bishop for Burma. Independent Burma would give him a standpoint which would not interfere with present arrangements.'

To a brother: 'Mussoorie seems a quiet place. The scenery is peculiar, and the Himalayan ranges are always impressive, from the sense of vastness and the immensity of the distances which they either comprehend or suggest. The snow range is a good way off, and not visible from our house, and much involved in clouds. Still the air is bracing and the climate suitable for work, and I suppose we shall be the stronger for it, especially if the weather improves. It should at this time be one unclouded blaze instead of a series of storms. The want of water and waterfalls in any manifest sense of the word, is the great drawback. . . . Our Government economy, however necessary, is placing us, ecclesiastically, in a rather uncomfortable condition. All manner of retrenchments are unsparingly enforced, and the ecclesiastical claims being generally regarded as least pressing, have a tendency to be eliminated from the budgets. The change also to the decentralisation plan now coming into operation, will, I fear, make it more

difficult to obtain the necessary supplies for church building and clergy support. There is also a quiet opposition of an underhand character in the Indian Supreme Council, of which, doubtless, the local governments are conscious, which checks the flow of liberality. I fear also that the home squabbles and trials tend here, as in England, to chill the spirit of devotion and charity. The excitement about the [3] last case is not much felt here. I have taken no public notice, as we are too far off to enter usefully into any controversy. There are, of course, one or two papers and serials, and one or two busy men, who endeavour to make a stir about it. I myself think, after reading the judgment carefully, that the conclusions are not borne out by the evidence, or the natural interpretation of the rubrical words: moreover an undefended case is always unsatisfactory. I shall be glad if there is a rehearing before the ultimate decision is attained, and then I suppose it will not be much regarded. I have always wished, indeed, for a regular and rational and canonical revision of the rubrics and directions, which might be made plain, and be strictly enforced, but in our divided state that is not practicable, and therefore the more liberty there is, perhaps, the better, till better times come. . . .'

In another letter he says, 'I see in the "Guardian," the continuance of the Purchas excitement. It would be a good thing if there could be another trial, in which the case could be reargued and heard with counsel for the defendant. I trust these painful movements are a sign of earnest and active life, which is sure in religious matters to be accompanied by some agitation and strife. God will in His mercy order all things to His glory and the good of His Church.'

'While I regret the judgment and its harshness, it is impossible not to feel that there was an extreme party, bent on defiance, and opposing all advice and remonstrance, which naturally provoked such counter assaults as the Church (!) Association has made. I believe, therefore, that much patience

[3] The Purchas judgment.

and forbearance are everyone's duty. An actual split would be a grievous misfortune. Suppose ourselves disestablished, could we in our present temper co-operate to form a proper Church organisation? or ought we to seek disestablishment in order to be rid of a control which we think an evil? Would not any synod be as likely to be severe and harsh as the present legal council may have been in this case? . . .'

'I commence my visitation tour on September 1, with two or three places in the hills. It will be still hot when I begin in the plains. Then I must, however, do so to reach Calcutta in time for my winter's work. I wonder whom we shall have at Colombo. . . . It is, I think, a pleasanter appointment than an Indian see, not quite so tied up in red tape, and the island is charming.'

He wrote to the Archdeacon in Calcutta: 'The Bishop of Jamaica has appealed to me to send over Christian native catechists for the coolies, who have emigrated to work on the plantations in Jamaica. I fear that the terms offered will not be very attractive to our ambitious educated natives, neither do I know exactly what language the natives exported as coolies for the most part speak. Perhaps you will know, or can ascertain from the Emigration Office in Calcutta. I fancy that they are gathered, if not almost entrapped, from all parts of the country, and hence Hindustani probably would be the most useful. . . . I will look out for a man, when I move again into the missionary world. I fear they little know out of India how difficult it is for us to find good native teachers and catechists.'

'Poor Jamaica is, I fear, suffering from disestablishment, but the Bishop says, though much tried, he is hopeful for the future. Truly, what is looming in the distance has not a comfortable aspect, but "the Lord who dwelleth on high is mightier."

'I confirmed seventy-seven candidates here yesterday, whose manner was very encouraging; the hill schools seem to me doing a good work. I trust your scholarship scheme will work well. Please put me down for another 300 rupees, as I see

more and more the necessity of such provision, and the poverty and evil results of the Romish education for our children. The boys at the hill schools have had so little previous education, and their minds are so stultified in their homes, that they present great difficulties to the teacher. However, the elevation of the class to which they belong, has been, and is one of my chief objects, and a very important element both of Christian and secular government. Young men are now growing up in these schools with a desire, in one or two cases, to take Holy Orders. I have before expressed a great wish that we could offer one or two scholarships to the diocesan schools tenable in England; I believe that this would be a beneficial stimulus to the scholars and teachers.'

The Bishop suggested that part of a fund, left by the Begum Sumroo, might be dedicated to this object. One young man was afterwards sent to England by means of this fund, to finish his education and training, and will return to India to work there.

CHAPTER XIV.

1871.

Visitation of N. W. Provinces continued—Muttra—Brindaban—Memorial at Cawnpore—Account of an Ascetic at Bithoor—Ruins of Futtehpur Sikri—Want of Chaplains—Letter to England.

THE Bishop left Mussoorie on September 1, to continue his visitation of the North-West Provinces. He spent more than three months in constant travelling and almost ceaseless work in the civil and military stations among the Europeans, and among the natives at the different large missions.

At Muttra, an especially profligate place, according to the English officials, but full of Brahmins and bigotry, the mission, under a native pastor, was not progressing. Some of the Christian families had gone to other cities, and no new converts made. Brindaban, one of the holy places of the Hindus, is near Muttra. 'It was a larger place than I expected,' the Bishop wrote, 'of course all judged holy ground by the Krishnavites of Krishna. The ruined Gobind Deva temple is about the size, and on something of the plan of a small cathedral. It is constructed of red sandstone from Bhurtpore, and was originally seven stories high. The old Brahmin said, the king of Delhi saw its golden top and spike from his city, and was annoyed at its splendour, and so came and knocked off the three top stories. The cruel bigotry of the man needed not this impossible incentive.'

'It is a very beautiful ruin, in which Hindu, Mahomedan, and Christian ideas and art may be traced. There is a central dome, a fine nave, with a specially beautiful chapel at the west

end, and two fine transepts (as it were). The shrine has been destroyed and rebuilt in brick; into this we were not admitted. There was the tawdry image, with two other tawdry figures beside it, visible through the door. One or two devotees prostrated themselves flat before this door while we were there. The figures over and round the entrance to the shrine were well cut and drawn—the heads, however, have been knocked off; they were about two feet high, in semi-alto relief, Krishna scenes apparently. The towers must have been fine, but are now thrown down and destroyed. It is curious to compare this unique specimen (as it is justly called by Mr. Grouse) with the Mahomedan buildings at Agra of the same date, and the large Hindu temples of earlier date, as at Tanjore, Madura, etc., in the South, or at Khajrao, in Central India. These have no interior; the worship is in the large courts, or before the Great Towers. This building at Muttra has an interior, which might be used for worship, and I suppose was so in some measure.'

The Bishop found the mission flourishing at Meerut, and he described the work as very hopeful at Delhi, where the missionaries wished to extend their operations into the surrounding country. At Agra and Cawnpore there was also much doing. After an interview with a Christian Bengali, a preacher sent by the American Mission to Cawnpore, the Bishop wrote: 'He seemed to feel the divisions of Christians, but at the same time thought his Society would not consent to his confining himself to a district, which he mentioned (not I) as a possible plan of peace. Our divisions are certainly saddening, and a greater stumbling-block than people fancy. He was rather full of the idea of instantaneous and sensible conversion, though very inconsistent in his views. I could not remove his difficulties, as they are at present inherent in the Christian world; may God remove them if it seem good to Him, or bless and prosper His work in the midst of them, if they are not to pass away yet!'

At different large places, the Bishop delivered lectures to the educated natives; one on 'revelation,' in which he pointed

out that the possibility, the existence, and nature of revelation was the question of the day for serious minds, and hoped 'the consideration of it might lead some to inquiry, and strengthen some waverers.'

Whenever there were native candidates for confirmation, there were always two separate services, as 'to mix the two languages tended,' he said, 'to injure or lessen the impression the service should make on both Europeans and natives.' Of his own labour he never thought. In the same way we often find in the journal, that if any soldiers who had been prepared were prevented from coming to the Church by illness, the Bishop, if they were desirous, would go to the hospital and confirm them there. At one large military station, he went to two hospitals to confirm, speaking a few earnest words in each.

At Cawnpore the Bishop visited a new memorial which had been erected over the bones of some people killed at the Siwali Koti, and the cross over the second well with its enclosure. 'In this, the bodies of those who died during the siege before the surrender and massacre were laid. It is a handsome stone cross, with four small crosses at the corners of the enclosure, which is shut in by a handsome iron rail, like that round "*the* garden of *the* well." There is a sad and melancholy interest in the multiplied memorials of the disasters at Cawnpore. The multiplicity of the monuments seem to bring home to the heart and memory with painful force the grievous variety of distress which overwhelmed the unhappy garrison, and the distraction in the councils of its commanders, and the manifold shapes of death by which so many men, women, and children perished.'

He gave a curious account of the Mela, and an ascetic whom he saw at Bithoor. 'The full moon of Kartish is a great *mela*[1] time. The crowd had left, and business work was the chief occupation. The buildings are not very good, and the Ghats poor, but the long line of booths and buyers and sellers made the scene striking. The bathing solemnity was over, and all

[1] Feast or fair.

were engaged in traffic, except two or three abstracted ascetics, of whom the most remarkable was one old man, reckoned a great *pir*.[2] When the Peishwa Baji Rao wanted to see him, he refused to go. At last Baji offered 5,000 rupees for a visit, and the story runs that the *pir*'s relations either extorted his consent, or that they carried him forcibly in a dooly, when suddenly, on his arrival, he jumped out of the dooly, and stood on his thumb on the top of it. This exhibition of supernatural power so frightened the Peishwa and his followers, that they ran away, and the ascetic dropped quietly back to his abode on the river-side. He was and is thought to have the miraculous gift of rising in the air, one of the results of Mukti,[3] and to have also the power of flourishing without food. He seemed to be of respectable character in the estimation of our officials. He was, when I saw him, seated asleep on the three points of the double tripod on which he lives, his legs crossed between the posts in a most strange and impossible position. There was another ascetic at the same place, who lived in a kind of large wooden kennel, from which he was said never to venture out.'

From Agra the Bishop had made an excursion to Futtehpur Sikri, the ruins of Akbar's great city.

'Futtehpur Sikri is enclosed in a wall of six miles' circuit; it is not continuous, having been unfinished when Akbar left, as is said at Sheikh Salim's bidding—"You or I must go," and the king went and built Akbarabad (Agra) on the Jumna.'

'The ruins are very striking, mostly of red sandstone, inlaid with white and yellow. The huge court is said to be the largest quadrangle in the world (458 feet by 406), with a gateway 120 feet high. The tomb of the Saint and the other tombs are not in the centre, but towards the inward end of the square. It is a very noble court, but the tombs appear to diminish its size. The Saint's tomb is of elaborate marble lace-work, in an enclosure of beautiful perforated white marble, domed over. They showed us a lot of horse-shoes on the gate

[2] Saint. [3] Freedom from corporeal existence.

which men nail there when their horses are ill, and then they always recover! Little bits of hair or fluff are also tied round the fretwork of the tomb when children are wanted, who immediately come!!'

'Akbar's palace, Birbul, the prime minister's house, and the three queen's houses are all standing, as well as the Diwan i Amm and Diwan i Khass, with the wonderful bracketed pillar on which we are told Akbar sate to receive the Elchis, whose messages were brought along the stone planks which lead from the four sides to the flat top of the pillar.'

'The Panch Mahall is a pretty five-storied building, where Akbar's ladies were accustomed to play, with a staircase up to the top. Each story is on pillars, with large pendentives and capitals.'

'The effect of Futtehpur is strange. It has not the appearance of a ruin, much less of an inhabited place. There is nothing melancholy about it, and yet nothing lively; silence and quiet; a place temporarily evacuated by its inhabitants, for a party or a pilgrimage is the idea it produces. You expect to hear that Akbar will sit on his pillar, or the zenana ladies be playing at hide-and-seek in a day or two. The red colour of the stone, and the present completeness of preservation, perhaps produce this feeling in part. The profusion of carving and work is very striking, but there are no fine interiors of any size. The rooms in all the palaces are comparatively insignificant. There is a kind of purposelessness about the whole which is peculiar to the place. It is a kind of red sandstone joke, stuck up for no serious purpose, and to be left at any moment that the caprice or fear of a despot drives him away.'

During the Bishop's stay at Simla he had endeavoured to move the Government to take some action with regard to the want of chaplains. Many and grievous complaints reached him of stations left without any spiritual help: no one to bury the dead, to minister to the sick, to baptise the infants. The appeals to the Bishop were in vain, however deeply he felt them,

as long as the Government on economical principles favoured what he called 'The simple and silent, but mischievous scheme of neglecting to fill up the vacancies in the chaplaincies.'

In December he wrote to England: 'The Suffragan Bishops idea is still under consideration, but deferred, I fear, to the Greek Kalends. Our ecclesiastical whisperings come to nothing amid pigs and parties, princes and potentates, camps of exercise, and Indian expeditions. We are much tried by non-fulfilment of vacancies in the chaplains' list. I hope something definite will come out soon. It is better to know the worst: ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὀλέσσον. In the meanwhile the economy necessitates subscriptions to churches, etc., which are tiresome to others and expensive to myself. Then there are floods and famines which also cause distressing appeals, and sometimes appeals for appeals have to be made, which is almost worse. However, in other respects, we are tolerably peaceful, considering the stormy atmosphere of the ecclesiastical world. Whether a tempest may come unexpectedly is more than I can say. I am much obliged for your kindness to my Bengali friend. I know well the difficulty of getting at such a youth to any religious purpose, only it may be kept in view. I fear England is in too excited a state at home to think much of us and our people. If you can see the young fellow occasionally, it will keep him respectable, and this alone is a gain. I hope you have received my charge by this time. I sent one also to the "Guardian," but it has not been noticed. I was not anxious that it should be for any particular reason. The more silent perhaps we are, the better. At least little good seems to emerge from the great crop of talk with which you are covered at home. I endeavour to keep up with synods, congresses, law-suits, but often "panting, toil after them in vain." In my own charge I have only endeavoured to state my views simply and clearly without fear or favour. I do not think they will be popular, but my rule is to speak the truth according to my knowledge, and as plainly as I can, and leave the rest in God's hands.'

CHAPTER XV.

1872.

Death of Archdeacon Pratt—Request from Government for a Scheme for Reduction in the Ecclesiastical Establishment—Speech at Kishnagar—Visitation of Kishnagar and Santhalia—Description of Different Languages in Santhalia—Death of the Viceroy—Bishop Summoned to Calcutta—Funeral Service—Visitation of Chota Nagpore and Orissa—Ruins of Bhobaneswa—Letter to Bishop of Waipu and to the Secretary of the S. P. C. K. in England—Order of Lay Deacons—Lecture to Educated Natives at Mirzapore—Visitation of Assam and Cachar.

ARCHDEACON PRATT died in 1871. He was a great loss to the Bishop: 'The Archdeacon was so useful (he wrote) to me in the diocese, and knew it so thoroughly, and was so thoroughly to be depended upon in every way, and so pleasant and kind a friend, that I miss him very much; and in our changeful society the loss of a real friend is very seriously felt. We are endeavouring to raise a memorial to him of a useful shape—a girls' school in Calcutta, which I hope may prove successful.'

Some objections were made by one or two contributors from the N. W. Provinces to this form of memorial. The Bishop said he hoped they would find 'a north-west passage through the ice of these objections,' as the school was so much needed, and the Archdeacon had always taken so deep an interest in everything connected with education. The stone of the Pratt school was laid some time after by the Bishop, and it is now in full working order.

Before a successor to the Archdeacon was appointed, the Bishop pressed on the Government the foundation and endowment of a bishopric of Lahore with some of the moneys attached to the

Archdeacon's office, but in vain. Nothing was done by Government to relieve him of a part of his huge diocese, and as he said, writing to his brother, 'I cannot get the Lahore bishopric, which I wanted, that I might have a little more time for thought and study; I must do the best I can.' Alas! it seems sad to think that nothing short of his death in the Punjab, to prove as it were, the necessity of the step, led to the fulfilment of his oft-repeated wish.

Being requested by the Government to send in a scheme for any reduction which might seem possible in the ecclesiastical establishment, though he acquiesced, so far as to sketch out a plan of what he thought feasible, he said, any economy, however painful, would be better than a reduction in the numbers of chaplains. He even proposed giving up his own private chaplain, however great the inconvenience, rather than have any station deprived of one.

Again this year the Bishop visited some of the mission stations near Calcutta. At Kishnagar he made an address at the Government college. 'I spoke of the weakness and strength, of the littleness and greatness of man,' he wrote, 'and endeavoured to show our need of revelation. I spoke as plainly as possible, as I had told Mr. Lobb the (Positivist) Principal, beforehand, that I should do. He took the address very well, and praised it much, but spoke of my Christian testimony as prejudices. A dangerous word for our hearers, and very well calculated to undo the impressions which seemed to be produced. We must be prepared for all discouragements. I am not sure that I ought not to have replied to Mr. Lobb, but I am afraid that I shrink too much from controversy and argument, so I left his criticism uncriticised.'

This is his own account of an address which Sir W. Herschel, who was present, even years afterwards spoke of as having quite electrified his hearers.

The Bishop had acquired sufficient knowledge of Bengali to hold a broken conversation, and to know if he was accurately

interpreted; but when some pundits from Nuddea came to see him at Kishnagar, he had the college pundit to interpret for him, as he said 'he did not like to venture on broken utterances with such learned Thebans. These pundits seemed to teach a limited amount of Sanskrit, the Vedant philosophy, a little logic, and the poems, as history (!) There were, they said, about 300 pupils in all the Hindu Sorbonne, and they apparently each took some charge of about twenty-five pupils.' They asked him to intercede to obtain some allowance for them from Government, and stated that they were very poor, as the scholars could not, or would not, pay for any instruction without English being included.'

'There are about four or five thousand Christians in the Kishnagar district. The mission, which was so promising in Bishop Wilson's time, has been stationary for many years. There used to be four European missionaries, now there are only two; hence really active and able native clergy are a crying want—we need a "multitude." And fit native men are very scarce (to whom to submit the pastorate of a flock). There has been too much haste in withdrawing European labourers, and the work has suffered. Mr. Schurr thinks there are signs of a revival, and there is a slight movement and stir, but where are the workmen and guides to turn it to account? Still "the Lord's hand is not shortened"—may He open the way.'

There were 85 candidates for confirmation in one place, and 127 in another, but not very orderly or quiet, partly from the fault of the crowded and unsatisfactory churches. 'This was a great contrast to the behaviour of the Santhals at Taljhari, to which place the Bishop went after Kishnagar, where the church was large and roomy, and good arrangements for moving up the candidates were practicable.' 'The Santhal people, too, are quieter than the fidgety Bengali, and their manner touchingly simple and devout.'

The Bishop described a feast, for which he gave the means, to about 700 people at Taljhari. 'It was a striking and pictu-

resque sight. The people and children sat round in circles. The utmost good humour prevailed. The piles of rice, the stews and condiments, disappeared rapidly, as did the various sweetmeats. They sung a hymn before the feast, and departed most quietly at about 9.30. P.M. It is wonderful how completely Christianity has cured the converts among these simple people of the national vice of drunkenness.'

He goes on to tell of an excursion to a village named Mehnti: 'The Christian *Des Manghi*[1] met us, a tall, intelligent, and well-mannered man. He has about twenty-four villages under him. We assembled the people together, Christians and heathens, in a large shed used for school and worship. I addressed them through Mr. Starke, and we directed the Christians to pray for their heathen friends. The catechist, and afterwards the *Manghi*, prayed for some time. I then spoke to the heathen, Mr. Starke interpreting, and then he spoke and prayed. We concluded with a benediction. The people were very attentive, the Christians seemed in earnest, and the heathen listened with great apparent diligence. The place ought to be visited again soon to see whether any fruit is given. The villages are rather numerous, and contain about 200 people. There were nine Christian families in Mehnti. There is no prejudice against them, and no prevention, except occasionally from some Zemindars.'

At a Pahari village on the top of a hill behind Mehnti, which had a fine view over the plain of the Ganges, they saw the village fetich, 'a post with stones round it, and a flag on a tall bamboo pole over it. We asked the people how they could worship it. They laughed and said, "You know too much, but it does for us who know so little." They were unwilling apparently to make a frank acknowledgment of their fetich worship, but at last confessed it.'

'The Pahari language is different from Santhali. They cannot understand one another, and converse in Hindi or Hindustani. The Urâo language in Kôl land is nearly the same

[1] Head of a circle of villages.

as the Pahari, while the Mundari there is almost identical with Santhali. The curious stop or cluck in Santhali is not found in the Pahari. The Santhali is pleasant in sound, notwithstanding the stop, the pronunciation of which is much like that of the Visaya by some pundits in Sanskrit. The Pahari and Urâo are in many points like the Dravidian languages. It seems on the whole probable there was some language spoken over India before the Ayran eruptions and settlements. Whether of Scythic or Turanian origin, some such language must have existed previous to the Sanskrit with its derivations.

'The difference between Pahari and Santhali and its cognates, is to all appearance generic. The Paharis seem less likely to be converted than the Santhalis; they are less intelligent and sensitive; the language also is more meagre, and their character more thoughtless; they drink more than the Santhals, at least more habitually, and are more quarrelsome in their cups.'

'On February 2, Feast of the Purification, I administered Holy Communion, after an address on the Presentation, showing the quietness of Divine visitations, and their heart-searching character. I was very glad to unite in Holy Celebration with these four brethren (the missionaries) in the faith. They seem simple, earnest, and good men, and I trust will work hard, and do good service to our "Good Master." A great deal of fruit may be expected if they do, as the Santhals are widely spread: there must be some 800,000 of them, or of people cognate with them.'

'In other parts of Santhalia there are Baptists, and the Free Church of Scotland is opening a mission. It is lamentable that even here our divisions are to be introduced, but so it is, and the difficulty increases day by day. Union is but a distant vision, fair though it be, and attractive.'

Gya, which the Bishop passed on his way to Chota Nagpore, is a city of great antiquity and sanctity. 'There are seven places of pilgrimage on hills round and at Gya. To them pilgrims are expected to go either personally, or by (paid) deputy. Fat Baboos prefer the latter. The Gyà wâls are, as I was told, an

unprincipled, licentious, and turbulent lot, and the city in general does not bear a good character, as indeed what pilgrim city does? They have no learning or knowledge, and live by looting the pilgrims to their last *paisá*.'

He had only just reached Ranchi in Chota Nagpore on February 14, when he was startled, as all India was, by the tidings of the cruel murder of the Viceroy by a fanatic, a Mussulman, a Cabulee in the Andaman Islands. The Bishop's sister had gone with the Viceroy and Lady Mayo on the unfortunate voyage which ended so fatally, and this of course added to his anxiety when the terrible news arrived. He had always received the greatest kindness from Lord Mayo, and he felt his death as a loss both to the country and himself.

On the 15th, he received by telegram a summons to Calcutta, and he left the same night, though 'it was,' he said, 'distressing to leave so much work at Ranchi.' It was a trying journey, but by travelling without stopping anywhere on the way, he reached Calcutta on the morning of the 18th. On the same morning, without any rest, he preached in the Cathedral on the great loss the country had sustained.

He was requested to arrange a funeral service, which, as the coffin was too heavy to move to the Cathedral, was to be said and sung on the external stair of Government House. It was a solemn and devout ceremony, and the sonorous voice of the Bishop was heard distinctly by the numbers assembled, as he read the beautiful words of the Burial Service over the remains of him whom the whole country had both respected and loved.

After an interview with Lady Mayo, the Bishop left the evening of the funeral to return at once to Ranchi. He travelled as far as Hazaribagh without a halt, but there, he says, 'I went to bed, and slept for four hours.' A tedious palki journey of eighteen hours brought him the next day to Ranchi, when one is thankful to read that he 'went to bed for a couple of hours.'

The work in Chota Nagpore was of the same character as at other mission stations, except that the numbers were greater, and

as he went down to Chiabassa he said, 'it was striking to see the forest scenery give up its swarm of devout worshippers.'

Whilst they were waiting one morning for the bearers to be collected, one of the missionaries 'sat by his tent and catechised in its shade three natives from a neighbouring village, a fourth man was listening. The catechumens seemed intelligent; they said the Apostles' Creed, and answered the questions as to the meaning of the Articles clearly and ably. The fourth man was a queer old labourer, who grinned and wagged his head, jackdaw-like, in approbation of the questions and answers, but expressed his regret that he could not bring himself to give up his drink, in order to ask admission into the Church. It was a curious scene, carrying the mind back to primitive times and ancient catechetical instructions.'

On the way to Chiabassa, 'the scenery was fine, park-like open glades, with fine trees on the plateau, and then a long and beautiful descent down the ghats about 1,500 feet high. The hills and mountains were richly wooded to the top, the sides also one continuous forest.'

The Bishop made his way across country, 106 miles, to Orissa, and from thence, after he had completed his work of visitation in that province, he returned to Calcutta by sea.

Between Cuttack and Pooree, where he was to take the steamer, he visited the ruins of Bhobaneswa.

'A tent had been pitched in a beautiful little valley under the two hills of Khandagiri and Parisnath, and elephants had been sent for us to this spot. We started on the elephants along a road or track winding through a low scrubby jungle and presently saw the Ling Raj, the largest of the temples, emerge above the bushes: then, one after another, the numerous, but not large temples appeared before us. Bhobaneswa is a little dirty town now, but must once have been an imposing place. The great temple, and probably the city too, were, it is said, begun by Jagati Kerari, A.D. 473. The Ling Raj stands in an enclosure, square, but with a projecting wall on one side. There are four

gateways, one in the centre of each side, with the usual lions at the entrances; we were not admitted into the interior. The great tower is a considerable structure, and there is a number of smaller towers and shrines. Two of the gateways are somewhat imposing, but it all had a rather ruined appearance.'

'Though pilgrims come here, they are few in comparison with those who visit Jugarnath.'

'The Bimba Sajara tank was made by the same king. It is of some size, with a shrine enclosed in a wall on an artificial island or peninsula. The view from one end of the tank, looking back on the fanes, and shrines, and towers, is decidedly both striking and beautiful. There was also a well, said to be always full, to which women make pilgrimages, and for the donation of twelve rupees are immediately cured of barrenness! The police *darogha* who gave us the information seemed not very credulous, but then he had learned to speak English, and had been at a Government school!'

'This well was said to be very profitable to its guardians. I fancy it was dedicated to Pawati, as Shiva worship, with his wife's, is prevalent at this old city.'

'The place in its desolation has a sombre and rather impressive aspect. By its extent, and the multiplicity of the temples, it brings back to one's mind the times of Orissa's grandeur, and the power of its kings, who once reigned from the Ganges to the Godavery.

'We got again upon our elephants and returned to Khandagiri, where I wandered up the hill on which the Jain or Buddhist shrine stands, and made a little sketch of the view looking upon the other hill, with its caves and cells, and the plain with its forest and jungle belt of cultivation, and distant wood beyond. The Ling Raj, and some of the smaller fanes were visible, rising out of the forest to all appearance, and looking black against the soft blue hazy sky.'

'What remarkable taste the Buddhists seem to have had; like the monks of Europe in the early Middle Ages.'

'The chief of the two sandstone hills which here rise strangely out of the plain (there is, I believe, no other sandstone in the Orissa alluvium) has several little temples and cells hewn out in the rock. Such figures as there are, are small, and being nude, I should doubt their Buddhist character. On the top of the platform is a small pagoda, reminding me of Pagan in Burma, brick stuccoed over, with the concentric circular roof within, and a shrine at one end, or rather the base, on which either Gaudamas, or such triple umbrella ornaments as those in the Ajunta caves, probably were erected. On the opposite hill there are similar small cave temples and shrines; a natural cave is roughly hewn into a fane, and one rock is cut into a huge tiger's head and mouth, in which strange cell a hermit must have lodged.'

'A little talkative Jain, who met us at the top of the first hill, was very anxious we should not enter the Buddhist shrine. Jains make pilgrimages here even now, a proof of the genealogical connection between Jains and Buddhists.'

'There is to me always something quieter and purer, almost, if the word may be used, holier, in the traces of Buddhism than in those of any other heathen religion. Among the heathen precursors of the truth, I feel more and more that Sakya Muni was the nearest in character and effect to Him who is "the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

'There is a fierceness in Islamism, a foulness in Hinduism, but a gentleness and purity, however childish, and even perhaps almost silly, in Buddhism, which is very attractive.'

Early in March the Bishop wrote to the Reverend E. Stuart, the secretary of the C. M. S. in Calcutta, now Bishop of Waipu in New Zealand: 'How sorry I am to lose you for a time, and how much I shall miss you you may easily guess. . . . If at any time you want any further letters from me, it is superfluous to say how glad I should be to aid you to occupy any sphere of usefulness during your temporary absence from us, or with what assurance I should guarantee your faithfulness, devotion, and

ability. There is a wave of agitation spreading to some extent over India. The prisoners in the native jails seem in a rather dangerous mood, and the Mussulmans are saying to the Hindus that if it were not for their courage the Hindu world would be forcibly Christianised. These are only bazar rumours, but they are slight indications of possible troubles. The terrible catastrophes which have lately happened are sure to produce a certain amount of agitation on the one hand, and indefinite apprehension on the other. Remember us and our work in your prayers even more earnestly than ever.' Two months later he wrote home: 'We do not hear any more of any rumours of conspiracy in this country, although our old commissioners of the paternal school speak of considerable discontent prevailing among the population. The jails also are very unsettled, I mean the native jails. That perhaps is natural after Lord Mayo's assassination. Every prisoner fancied himself *ex officio* a hero. The perfect quiet, however, and the tranquil administration of government as if nothing had happened, which has ensued on that mournful catastrophe, has, I think, had a real effect on the Indian mind, and made them sensible (however vaguely) of the strength of the machinery of the English raj, which, when its mainspring seemed suddenly snapped, still works on as quietly and effectually as before.'

The Bishop was most anxious always to help on the cause of education, and made constant and unwearied efforts to carry out Bishop Cotton's scheme for the Hill schools, and also to develop fresh means of educating the children of all classes of Europeans in the diocese. In 1872, he wrote the following letter to the secretary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge:

'Having at last a little more leisure, with the prospect of three months in Calcutta, I take the opportunity to renew at greater detail the application for a grant from the S. P. C. K. toward the educational work in the diocese of Calcutta.

'The scheme designed and commenced with such remarkable

ability by my lamented predecessor and the late archdeacon, has, as far as it has gone, met with signal success. The schools for boys and girls at Mussoorie and Simla, and the boys' school at Darjeeling, have raised the tone of feeling and thought, not only while the pupils are under tuition, but during life. They have succeeded in eliminating the weakness of character which is too common in young people born in this country, and in developing the mind and religious qualities, which makes the good Christian and the useful member of society.

'I need scarcely add that the diocesan board of education has only been able as yet to carry out a part of the scheme. The size and population of this diocese, with its various Governments of Bengal, the North-West, the Punjab, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and Burma, present a boundless field of labour. The development in these countries of the railway and canal systems, the tea and indigo cultivations, are bringing more and more of our countrymen into India, and increasing more and more that English and Eurasian population, for whose welfare the board of education was especially established. The number of the latter (the East Indian population) is very considerable; I have been astonished to find how large it is in Calcutta, and how little known. It is the same over almost all the country. As to the interest which we ought to take in these people, no Christian can doubt. At the same time, the temper of the time and Government are against giving them those opportunities of employment which they desire. The European from England and the genuine native come into most of the Government posts. It is therefore more incumbent on us than ever to provide for the education of the class I have mentioned.

'If I were to write of all the applications for help which have been made to the board, and which it has been unable to meet, I should take up too much of your committee's time. . . .

'A kind of general scheme was sketched out with great ability, and the carrying out of so much of it as has as yet been

unattempted, is more likely to be useful and successful if regarded as the development and complement of the scheme, than simply as a mass of isolated undertakings.

'I have consulted the secretary of the board of education, one of the most able and earnest of our Government inspectors, who is also a member of our committee, as well as the secretaries of our missionary societies. I have therefore, I trust, ascertained as far as possible what are the most pressing wants of the diocese.

'It should be observed that in some cases schools are thoroughly established and flourishing, showing that when put on a good footing they become self-supporting. Other schools have made a beginning, but being hampered with rent, and possessing no endowment, they have merely a struggling existence, which may at any time collapse. Again, in some cases what is needed is development, whilst in others we must begin from the first institution or foundation.

'Of all these details our board is an excellent judge, and can guarantee that all the money expended will be used to the best advantage. It can also raise the funds necessary to meet yours from England, and treat with Government for those equivalents with which for the most part Government meets (under Lord Canning's minute) all the sums raised by private subscription.'

He then submitted to the committee certain definite objects and wants, with an estimate of the approximate cost, and concluded with an apology for 'some delay in the transmission of this letter. Until I returned to Calcutta, and had surmounted the first wave of Calcutta work, I could not write to you with such particularity and at such length as your committee desire.'

Very soon after he arrived in India he appears to have thought of the necessity of having laymen regularly and ostensibly in the service of the Church under Episcopal authorisation, and he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject

of a sub-diaconate and lay-diaconate for the diocese of Calcutta. The Archbishop approved of the idea, and said that he (the Bishop) was competent to introduce those offices into his own province.

But it was not till 1872 that he matured his plans. He then wrote a paper, in which he explained the necessity and reason for taking this important step.

'There is a general desire among the clergy for the due co-operation and assistance of the laity in spiritual as well as temporal works of love. There is a widespread desire also among the laity to give that assistance without which the true needs of the Church cannot be adequately supplied. While this is the case in England and elsewhere, it is manifest that the circumstances of the Church of Christ in India are of a peculiar character. Here the great number of stations without any resident clergyman, and the size and extent of the large stations, especially the chief military stations, enhance to a singular degree the difficulty of providing for the spiritual needs of Christ's flock. It seems, therefore, even more desirable in India than elsewhere that opportunities of turning lay zeal and ability to good account should be freely provided. With such aid the present system of a central station for a clergyman, with several out-stations to be visited from time to time, when the stations are not large but numerous, seems practicable and efficient. Without it there must in reality be a lamentable and dangerous spiritual destitution.

'Again, in India the education and ability of the residents, military or civil, in the various stations guarantee the efficiency of the lay help when it is given, and also ensure a supply of voluntary helpers, whose work will be indeed one of love.

'It is, however, found that earnest Christian laymen desire in many instances to have a definite authority and commission, under which they may either assist the clergy in the divine service when the clergy are present, or supply such ministerial work as can be duly carried on in the absence of any clergyman. At the same time it is understood that many of the

clergy share in the desire that those who work with them should have such a definite commission, and some regulations and directions as to the work which should be entrusted to them.

'In some dioceses in England, and with some variety of detail, the Church, in accordance with resolutions passed in both the northern and southern convocations, has already its laymen at work, who have received such a public commission and sanction, and have agreed to such regulations.

'Moreover, there is a difference of degree in the desired participation in ministerial work. This difference is considerable, and in matters of importance it seems to necessitate a certain variety in the conditions and directions to be attached to any definite commission and Episcopal authorisation.

'It is my duty and my wish to carry out this desire on the part of laity and clergy, while at the same time it is manifestly necessary to give as much freedom of action as possible, by the conditions and directions of such an authorisation and commission.

'There were in the early Church minor orders. Among these the two minor orders of sub-deacon and reader naturally suggest themselves (and have been adopted in England) as offering the best precedents for our guidance.

'First of all, however, it should be observed that in later ages these minor orders came to be regarded chiefly as a school and preparation for the higher orders. This in itself was a misfortune at the time, and under our present circumstances any such idea is altogether undesirable. It should at once be clearly understood that any commission to these offices or charges is not to be in any way considered as leading on or pledging to future ordination. For similar reasons it is manifest that nothing of an indelible character should be attached to such offices or charges. They may be undertaken for any period of time. They may be given up and resumed again when opportunity permits, according as the exigencies of Christ's

kingdom, the circumstances of the stations, or the zeal of a man's heart, or the conditions of his life may require or persuade.

'Supposing then (as in my judgment is desirable) these two offices of sub-deacon and reader are selected, it will be necessary briefly to state the duties proposed to be connected with each, and the conditions on which each may be given and accepted.

'I need scarcely add that when no definite authorisation is asked for, I am still most sincerely thankful when earnest and faithful laymen co-operate in the various labours of love which are open to them in the Church of Christ. My object is to provide such conditions as may remove difficulties and scruples which sometimes stand in the way of earnest men, and also to offer such directions as are calculated to turn such kind help as may thus be obtained to the greatest possible advantage. There are two offices proposed, of which the sub-deacon's would be the highest, the reader's the lowest.'

'*The Duty of the Reader.*

'He would, when the clergyman is officiating, read, if desired, the appointed lessons in divine service. When the clergyman is in bad health, or for other sufficient reason, he might read sermons or homilies under the clergyman's advice. I see no objection to his expounding or exhorting (rather perhaps than preaching from a regular text) in the congregation if the clergyman consents. He would be authorised, if the civil or military authorities consent, to visit and read in the hospital.

'He would be authorised to assist, and in the clergyman's absence, preside at Bible-classes or religious meetings.

'I do not speak of the many private ways in which the reader might strengthen, assist, and relieve the clergyman, as these may be at once understood, and need no definite direction or authorisation.

'*The Duty of a Sub-deacon.*

'Those duties prescribed for the reader would also be entrusted to the sub-deacon.

'In addition, at the Holy Communion, he might, after receiving himself, assist the clergyman by giving the chalice to the communicants. In case of real emergency he might baptise infants according to the form of private baptism. He should be ready at the desire of the civil or military authorities to officiate at burials. He might be entrusted with the preparation of candidates for confirmation, under the superintendence of the clergyman, who is held responsible by the bishop for the presentation of candidates.'

Then follow the conditions connected with each office, and the paper concluded with: 'If at any time a sub-deacon proposes to discontinue for a time or wholly such ministerial works, it is desirable that he should inform the bishop of the diocese, and return the written commission, unless for special reason the bishop consent to his retaining it. Again, there should be an honourable understanding that the bishop has power to recall or to suspend such a commission, either on his own motion or that of the clergyman of the station.'

He drew up a short office for the public commissioning of men to these duties.

One of the first of these sub-deacons was appointed to minister to a very poor and neglected part of Calcutta, which was separated from one of the large districts in the year 1872, and in which a mission had been set on foot to visit from house to house, and to establish a Sunday and day school. This mission was in connection with the cathedral. A chapel was afterwards opened, in which the sub-deacon continued to officiate, with occasional help from the cathedral clergy.

The number of sub-deacons and readers has steadily increased, and the value of their work has been thankfully recognised. In 1876 they numbered as many as twenty-five, who

were chiefly ministering among the small bands of settlers and scattered flocks in different remote parts of the vast diocese where the visits of the clergy were from necessity few and far between. That so many should have offered themselves is a striking testimony to the Bishop's power of inspiring laymen with zeal in the service of God.

In the Lent of this year the Bishop held a retreat for the clergy at Bishop's College. Thirteen were present, and the Bishop's addresses were described by one of them as searching, touching, and edifying beyond all expectation.

The hot weather was spent in Calcutta. In June the Bishop made another of his direct efforts for the conversion of the natives. He went once a week to Mirzapore, the native side of the city of Calcutta, and gave a course of lectures which educated natives were invited to attend. 'Eternal Life,' 'The One True God,' 'Jesus Christ the Mediator,' 'The Mission of Christ,' were the four subjects he selected, and on these themes he delivered with his usual eloquence most deep and thoughtful discourses.

July and August were passed in a visitation of the provinces of Assam, Cachar, and Eastern Bengal.

On July 1, at Goalunda, about 100 miles from Calcutta, the Bishop went on board the Viceroy's yacht, a kind of large house boat, in which, towed by a steamer, he went up the great river Brahmaputra nearly to the mountains of Thibet, and afterwards up the Surma, Megna, and other rivers that water the provinces of Cachar and Eastern Bengal, as far as Silchar.

They anchored every night, either at some station or in mid stream at perfectly lonely places. At first 'the banks were low, and mostly more or less flooded, the scenery a blank, though the great rushing river is always fine. After three days the voyage lay among the hills, green and covered with low forest to the summit. At Goalpara the scenery was pretty and pleasant, the place itself beautiful, and further up the approach to Gowhatty

is wonderfully pretty. The banks come down into the water in bold rocky points. The trees are fine, and of great variety.' 'The river a splendid flow of water, closed in as if it was a lake by the interlacing mountains. At the High and Vernacular School at Gowhatty there was an unusual number of Sanskrit students. The question of the re-introduction of Assamese into the Government schools *vice* Bengali is much agitated. The majority seem in favour of the local language. It appears, from a pamphlet by a "Native," that there is much more literature in Assamese than is commonly believed. The Assamese translation of the Mahabharat and the Ramayana, is said to have been made four hundred years ago, and to have preceded the Bengali version by two hundred years. The difference in the languages, especially as commonly spoken, is also considerable. The Sanskrit element is equal in both.

'If the introduction of Ooriah into the Orissa schools has filled them, as I was informed it had, it seems probable that the same result would follow on similar conditions in Assam.'

Peacock Island, opposite Gowhatty, is 'a lovely tree-crowned rock in the river, with two half-ruined brick temples, places of pilgrimage of no great antiquity, Shiva shrines. Wild peacocks fluttered about, plumerias were of great size and in full flower, and the cocoa-nut trees added to the beauty of the island.'

Three or four miles from Gowhatty 'a colony of Brahmins, about 600 in all, inhabit the top of the Kamikhya Hill. There were several temples, but none of any architectural pretensions, and a large extent of a line of circumvallation is traceable, which formerly enclosed part of the old capital when it was a populous place. The view from the hill is magnificent in every direction. The Bhotan hills were beautifully blue and their outline good, and we looked up and down the great river over the Khasia hills to Shillong and over the Garrows farther south.'

Dibrogurh, the most northern point, was reached on the 25th. It is situated on a small river, with insufficient depth of water for the steamer, which was anchored at its mouth in the

great stream still rapid and broad, though many hundred miles from the sea.

'There are some beautiful and very flourishing tea-gardens at Dibrogurh. On either side of the paths in the gardens was tea, China on the one side, Assam on the other. The latter is the largest and handsomest plant, with more luxuriant foliage. I observed with what care each leaf is gathered. The women are the chief pickers, and each woman likes to have her own two or three rows of plants across the field, as she then knows the trees, and makes the most of her opportunities. Squabbles arise from the endeavours of others to supplant the picker in her chosen rows. These gardens, especially the Assamese plantations, are singularly and steadily productive.'

'The coolies (with wife and family) make large gains, and are very independent. There is naturally a great deal of jealousy among the planters, which I fear may be a difficulty in the preaching of the Gospel among them. There is a good deal of carelessness and frivolity, to say the least of it, in a portion of the Dibrogurh community. This should not discourage the clergyman, but make him more earnest and laborious. There are 120 Europeans round and about, besides the coolie Christians, and the out-stations. It is a considerable charge, and would be very interesting to a man who liked the work, and did not mind roughing it.'

A visit to Atabari was made on elephants. 'After three miles we turned across a wild jungle of elephant grass, and after striding through this for about three miles more we arrived at the village of Atabari. Here live 69 Christians, men, women and children, Kôls from Chota Nagpore. There are in the neighbouring plantations about 50 more. It was for their service we had brought up in the steamer Matthew, catechist, and Nehemiah, schoolmaster.' Matthew's wife had died at Gowhatty, which was very sad, of cholera after a few hours' illness on the way, and the Bishop had read the burial service over her himself in Hindi, the language her husband understood. 'I thought

it advisable that a little chapel should be built at Atabari, and a house for the catechist and master, and left money for this end. I recommended daily prayers and daily schooling. The catechist should also visit the Christians if the managers permit, and preach to the heathen if allowed and authorised by them. I recommended that the Christians should, weather permitting, come in to Dibrogurh church, and especially for Holy Communion.

'It was tiring riding on the elephant in the rain, but I am very glad to have visited the little village, with its little Christian community. May God preserve and bless it, for it is in a difficult position.

'Two of the villagers had been sentenced to a fine and three months' imprisonment for killing a cow for food. The case was tried before a Hindu munsiff, and the sentence (even if just) was very severe.

'On the Sunday, after the English service, we called in the natives, and I introduced the catechist, and gave him charge of the people and congregation. I made an address to the people, impressing upon them the responsibility of their position. I afterwards baptised two babes. A lad was brought as unbaptised, but his knowledge did not seem to me sufficient, and I recommended that the catechist should instruct him. I got through the service in Hindi as well as I could. God pardon all mistakes.'

On the 29th the Bishop began the downward voyage, which was far more rapidly accomplished, the powerful stream carrying them, when the weather was clear enough to see how to steer, one or two days, at the rate of nearly 200 miles in the day. When the weather was thick, frequent stoppages had to be made to prevent running on sandbanks, and not more than sixty miles would be the length of the day's run. The Bishop left the river at Gowhatty, and rode over the hills to Shillong, and down the mountain of Cherra Poonjee on the other side, the yacht and the steamer going round by the rivers to meet him at Chuttack.

Bisnath, where the Bishop landed for two or three hours to consecrate a cemetery near some tea-gardens, 'is a pretty but jungly spot, with rocks and a temple enveloped in creepers and trees. The manager of one of the gardens showed us in the village a tree with some bushes, out of which a tiger came, killing one of his native watchmen. The manager had gone on to the roof of a small house to look out for the beast, but getting tired went home. His man, who with a gun kept watch from the same roof, was shortly afterwards pulled down and killed by the animal, which then retired into the jungle. He showed us also where a tiger and three buffaloes had landed, shortly before our visit.'

It was sixty-three miles to Shillong from Gowhatty. After driving the first stage 'we rode on ponies through a wild but beautiful jungle up and down the first Khasia hills, to Verni Ghât, where we slept. The next morning we started at half-past five. As we overtook our servants, who were on an elephant, it was marvellous to see how he disappeared in an instant in the long grass whenever he stepped aside out of the road. When we had ridden two stages of eight miles we found fresh ponies sent to meet us, but the breakfast was ten miles further on, at the Oomigang river, so after eating a hard-boiled egg we journeyed on to the shed by the river-side. The stream is fine and clear, and runs between bold rocks and overhanging trees. I saw a family of otters playing on a little sandy beach some way down the river. I was looking from a footpath near the new bridge, which has been well substituted for the old telegraph-wire bridge.

'Here we had breakfast, which had been sent from Shillong, and rode on in the afternoon the remaining eight miles.

'Mr. Trevor met a large tiger on the road about a month ago within thirty yards. He gave a loud yell, and the beast moved into the jungle, whence, as he passed, he saw the tiger's tail sticking up above the grass.' Shillong, the sanatarium of Assam and Cachar, has now been made the seat of government

of those provinces, and the residence of the chief commissioner. 'It is pitched three or four miles too low. It is consequently too warm and muggy for a good sanatarium, but in the abundance of water and space it has many advantages.'

The Bishop expressed himself in his journal as troubled at 'the coldness and deadness, with few exceptions, of the spiritual life in this place, and hoped the new chaplain, who was expected, would revive faith and love.'

He inspected the proposed site for a church and parsonage, and on Sunday preached in aid of the church. The mission school was also examined; the language was Khasia, and English was taught. One afternoon 'we rode out to see the waterfalls. Colonel Hopkinson lent me a handsome Australian mare, who began with a few buck jumps, but afterwards went quietly. There was a mist on the hills, but in the valley it was fine. Descending 300 or 400 yards, the Beadon Fall opens upon you. The river Umbra takes three leaps visible to the spectator, and another below. The hollow is deep, and the rocks precipitous; the ferns, weeds, and woods green and rich. The rocks are of a good grey colour. After descending about 500 or 600 yards further, we began to ascend again. Suddenly we reached a platform with a single pine, and the Bishop's Fall, so called after Bishop Cotton, 410 feet high, a grand precipice, with the stream rushing down in a nearly perpendicular shoot, opened suddenly upon us. It is a really fine fall, although the volume or width of the river is not very large. The name of the river is Urni Shirpi. We returned up the hill; the ascent and descent take about an hour and a quarter.'

They left Shillong on the 8th, and halting only for a few hours at Mufflong, rode on to Cherra Poonjee, over a cane bridge, and through two beautiful valleys with 'wild rocks and luxuriant vegetation, and bright streams with steep mountain sides; the rocks dark crimson in colour, and the green of the brightest and most vivid description.' Cherra Poonjee is 4,500 feet above the sea. It has been abandoned as a station on

account of the great rainfall, which is said to be the largest in the world, the average being nearly 600 inches.

'The descent of the mountain, about ten or eleven miles, is unspeakably lovely, through trees and ferns, and creepers, and the richest vegetation, rocks, streams, falls, and splendid views over the plains. The road is paved with hard sandstone, like a Roman road, and is very trying to horses' shoeless feet. I walked down, as I was afraid of the pony, a pet of my hostess at Shillong, stumbling and I was rather fagged. I rode in, however, the last two miles through the fine forest and betel groves, and reached Terria Ghât, where we found canoes ready for us, in which we were punted down the pretty rapids to Bola Gunge, where the steamer's boats were waiting to take us across the floods and channels, through the long grass twenty feet high, to Chuttack to the yacht.

'Chuttack was looking very beautiful, with the Khasia hills blue in the distance lined with narrow waterfalls, and crowned with clouds, pretty low wooded hills all round, and a crowd of boats for a zemindar's wedding tomtoming on the river.

'Between Mufflong and Cherra there is a Welsh Presbyterian Mission, established in 1843, which seemed on the whole successful and flourishing. The schools were good. The Khasias looked wonderfully different when tidied up by Christian training. There is an orphanage, and a female normal school which has sent out several teachers. There is a press, at which the Khasia language is printed in Roman character. The teachers are all indigenous. The missionaries consider the Bengali teachers unsuitable to the primitive people in their charge.'

The Surma river, up which they went to Sylhet and Cachar, is a strangely winding river with a rapid, deep, but quiet stream. Its banks, rich and well peopled, are lined in general with groves of bamboos and betel. The churches at Sylhet and Silchar had both been injured by the earthquake of 1867.

In Cachar, as in Assam, the Bishop was very anxious to

arrange something more satisfactory for the spiritual needs of the planters. A General Tea Company Fund he thought might be started, and he promised to write to the different Tea Companies for assistance. It was an increasing need as more gardens were brought under cultivation. 'The planters are so much closer together in Cachar that "parochial" ministrations and visits are more practicable. The planters seem marrying more and more, and will, I hope, rise above the scale of past years. There seem to me none who need more the regular visits of a good and earnest clergyman.' At Cachar there were two German missionaries in Anglican orders; one was working among Munipurs and Nagas, the other resided in Silchar, but, being a foreigner, was not very successful among the planters.

Silchar was the Bishop's furthest point north-east in this direction; he left it on August 19, and began the downward voyage. Whilst anchored there, some Nagas, belonging to one of the wild hill tribes, had come on board the yacht and sung. 'A sturdy-looking set, craving for drink, like any compatriots of our own.'

On the fourth day of the voyage down through the labyrinth of rivers, after having run aground twice, which caused some delay, they reached Dacca, a large town in Eastern Bengal, containing 40,000 inhabitants. It is a great place for education among the natives. There are four large schools, besides the Dacca college with its 520 students. Arabic and Persian were taught in one school, Sanskrit in the others. All were examined by the Bishop. In the college, 'notwithstanding the Mussulman character of the population, there are but few Mussulmans; many Sanskrit, but few Arabic students.'

On the Sunday spent at Dacca, the Bishop went, in addition to the English services, to the Armenian service, at which the Rev. J. Nahapiet officiated. 'It was a special mass for the first fruits, a Persian custom. Dried grapes were offered, with incense, etc. The service was very intricate, the curtain drawn three times. Robe and cap were handsome, with a very stiff

collar. The service in Armenian. The congregation amounted to about forty-five, dropping in at various times, but fairly following the service, which with no sermon lasted an hour and forty minutes.'

After visiting Comillah, an old and very inaccessible station in Bengal, to which no Bishop had ever penetrated before, he went on to Burisal, where there is a mission under a deacon, whom he had ordained after his first visit to the place in 1867. There he confirmed 50 natives in Bengali, and began the Sunday by baptising 32 adult natives, and celebrating Holy Communion in Bengali, at which 70 natives communicated out of a congregation of 143, 'many of them having come in many miles.'

The station, through Dr. Bensley, offered to raise 100 Rs. a month, if an A. C. S. clergyman could be sent to them. The natives also asked for more frequent communions. 'Alas!' wrote the Bishop, 'for the paucity of labourers and funds! The lack of spiritual privileges and the want of the ministry is sadly felt.'

They left Burisal at dawn on September 2, and made a good voyage through the Sonderbunds. When they entered the Hooghly on the 5th they met a strong breeze, and the rudder of the steamer towing them broke. The yacht was closely fastened to the steamer for the purpose of steering round the sharp corners in the narrow rivers of the Sonderbunds, and they were in some danger. It was not without difficulty the rudder was repaired, and they were able to proceed up the Hooghly, and the Bishop closed his journal of this visitation with, 'Arrived in safety at Calcutta on the 5th. *Laus Deo.*'

CHAPTER XVI.

1872.

Change of domestic chaplain—Bishop's furlough rules—March over the hills—Visitation of the Punjab—Shortening the services.

THE Rev. A. O. Hardy left for England in September. The Bishop felt deeply the parting from one who had been his private chaplain and constant companion for three years. The Rev. Edgar Jacob joined him at Allahabad to take up the work.

The visitation of the Punjab was to conclude the labours of the year, but as it was still too hot to move about in the plains more than was absolutely necessary, the Bishop went to Simla, where he preached so stirring a sermon on the need for more help to be given to the Additional Clergy Society, to provide clergy for the smaller stations of the diocese, that the new Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, who was present, promised, in an interview with the Bishop the following day, to preside at a meeting in Calcutta, in the cold weather, in furtherance of that object.

Of this interview he wrote, 'the Viceroy spoke to me chiefly on ecclesiastical matters and the Educational Department, and I pointed out that the work of that department, as at present carried on, tends inevitably to infidelity. He seemed to me one who "loveth righteousness, and hateth iniquity," as far as one conversation can be trusted. I felt much comforted and strengthened by his words. May God guide and guard, and bless him.'

The Bishop was consulted whilst he was at Simla as to the

furlough rules. He expressed his opinion that no bishop should at any time have more than six months' leave, except in case of sickness, and recommended that they should be allowed privilege leave for three months at the interval of three years. 'There is a difficulty,' he wrote, 'in procuring men for various spiritual works in this country, which a bishop visiting England for a short time might be able to overcome. Moreover, there is the natural desire to see relations and homes, which at the age at which bishops generally are appointed would make such an opportunity precious. . . . In this alone I should ask that I might share.'

From Simla he went to Koteghur, a mission station fifty miles further in the mountains, where he consecrated a cemetery, in which the native pastor had desired to have his wife's grave quite separate from the rest. 'Some wretched jât (caste) feelings,' the Bishop said, 'seem at the bottom of this strange idea. How difficult it is to produce a really Christian temper, or even proper civilised notions in the minds of our native clergy. There seems much work to be done before they can walk *well* alone; and if they are started too soon, I do not know where they may be landed.'

Tents, mules and ponies had been procured during the four days' stay at Simla, and with them the Bishop, with his sister and Mr. Jacob, marched across the mountains by the Kulu Valley to Palampore, near Kangra. They crossed the Dilauri Pass, 11,400 feet high, by 'a very long but not difficult ascent, through a very fine forest. As we neared the summit the snow range appeared in great splendour, and the views were magnificent. The mountains seen were not named in the map, but are given respectively as 20,400 and 21,400 feet high. Beginning to descend, we came to a most curious and picturesque rock, dividing the prospect, with fine trees on its top. Snow to right and left, and splendid forests of oaks and deodars on the neighbouring cliffs and peaks. It was a most striking view. Jeebhee is a beautiful spot. The Jeebhee river dashes past and joins the

Hanroo further on. Deodar "sleepers" were being continually carried past, to be placed in the Ratti or Beas river, down which they are floated for railway purposes.'

The bridge over the Beas river was broken, and the whole party crossed on *masaks* (inflated skins). The ponies and mules had to swim across, steered by men on *masaks*. 'It was curious to see these ancient water vehicles at work ferrying over horses and ourselves, the men paddling with small paddles and with their legs. It seemed to carry one back to the days of Alexander.'

At Bajoara, in the Kulu Valley, there were the ruins of a small fort, and 'a curious temple like the Kashmeer temples in structure.' Near Dhalu there was 'a salt mine in a towering cliff, red rock salt open to the air. The salt was like in appearance to that from the great Pindadan Khan mines; it looked a great red blotch in the grey rock. Seventy-five per cent. is salt. The crystals in the rock were not so bright as those at Pindadan, but it is said to be a curious geological speculation how this salt got into the rock where it is found.'

The church at Palampore, a pretty little stone building, begun some five years before by the tea-planters, was consecrated with the churchyard on October 4. From Palampore the Bishop went down the hills to Kangra; whence Shere Singh Naib, a Tehsildar, rode out to meet him, and was afterwards one of the candidates at the confirmation. 'He seemed a pleasant and good man, a promising convert, attributable to the Umritsur school.'

At Koteghur the language used at the mission service had been Hindi, at Kangra it was Hindustani.

At Sialkote he writes: 'I baptised, at the request of Mr. Bateman, C. M. S., a Christian convert and his wife, Syud Dyal, son of the late Dewan of Runjeet Singh. His wife was about fifteen years of age. Abdullah Atheem and his wife, with Mr. Bateman, were sponsors. It was an interesting ceremony. He was desirous of being baptised at this place, because Abdullah

resides here as extra Assistant Commissioner, and is a man of weight and worth. He has called himself and his family Atheem (sinners).' The march over the mountains, out of reach of the post, had been a comparative rest to the Bishop for a fortnight. October and November were spent in visiting many places in the Punjab. When he had to make journeys near the frontier on horseback he was escorted by mounted police. After the murders of Lord Mayo and Mr. Norman some anxiety was felt for men in high position. For the same reason, being requested not to attend the bazaar-preaching at Peshawur, he said, 'As I was only going to hear and see, and no duty was involved, I did not feel it right to resist the direct appeal of the chief Government officer. They have sources of information which they may not like to mention, which others have not, but I was a good deal disappointed.'

There was an epidemic of cholera that year in Peshawur, and the Bishop in consequence left his sister at Attock, but kept his appointed time himself, lest any appearance of fear in him should cause more panic among the soldiers. The cholera had scattered the troops into camps, which the Bishop visited, and he spoke to the men in the tents. 'It was a curious ride,' he writes of one of these visits, 'out and back over rice-grounds, and little water-courses and ground covered with salt efflorescence. Streams from and into the Cabul river also interrupted the journey. It must be difficult to find the requisite qualifications for these camps, but I confess that there seemed considerable disqualifications in these plains.'

In his journal we find the observation that 'the best time for visiting Peshawur is February or March, only of course there is the difficulty that this is the best time to be in Calcutta, while they are a *long way apart*.' Peshawur is 1,500 miles from Calcutta, and how fatally true was the concluding remark was proved when, in 1876, he took in February the sad journey to this place which ended in his death.

When he went to the mission school at Peshawur he says,

'I examined the first class in English, geography, history, a proposition of Euclid, and afterwards in religious knowledge, i.e. knowledge of the Christian faith, endeavouring to show the great responsibility of the reception of this information, and of the appeal to join the Church of God. They did not seem to know much of these matters. I did not ask them any historical questions on purpose, as it is painful to hear unbelievers repeat by rote facts and statements which in their hearts they are denying, perhaps loathing.

'Two men, who had been officers in the army, think of joining the mission. It is probable that, with stability and a definite recognition of the kingdom of God as an existing body to which men should join themselves, they may be very useful.

'Jumrood is a fort in semi-ruin, at the mouth or entrance of the Khyber Pass. It was not much of a building, but the parade of the "garrison" was curious: natives armed with rifled and flint-lock guns, a wild-looking set, an intelligent young chief, and others of some little importance. The mud walls were just kept in some order and repair, but that was all. There is a very deep well, now dry, down which a stone took four or five seconds in its fall to the bottom.

'The view was striking, but very desolate. The mountains stony and barren, the plains stony and barren, everything stony and barren. The pass is now stopped, not by us, but by the Ameer of Cabul, who is nominally suzerain. It is stopped by us occasionally as a punishment. Its memories make it a solemn if not a sad object to look at; otherwise the appearance of the entrance is not striking.'

The Kohat Pass was also not open on account of the cholera, and therefore as the ride down the frontier was impossible, the Bishop returned to Attock, where a boat had been prepared for him in which to go down the river Indus as far as Dera Ghazi Khan. It was an ordinary river boat, with a hut constructed of matting on it in two divisions, for himself and his chaplain.

Several days and nights were to be spent in this boat on his way down.

Kohat, thirty-one miles, and Bunnoo, sixty miles from the river, were visited by the Bishop on horseback, horses being sent down to places on the river to meet him.

On the road to Bunnoo he says, 'In one spot our guide, who had been behind us, said it was fortunate we had waited for him, as the former road, the straight one which we should naturally have taken, would have brought us into a deep quicksand. We might thus have quietly disappeared, and been heard of no more. Thanking God for His mercy, we continued our ride.'

The voyage on the river rested them after their night journeys, 'which, however, are better than long rides in the sun, even at that season of the year.' The boats were anchored against the bank at night, often in quite solitary places. The stream varied in intensity. In the upper part of the river the scenery was striking in its waste wildness. 'Lower down the navigation was in places intricate, with endless sand-banks. The multitude of birds and waterfowl of every kind, occasional alligators plunging and disappearing lazily and silently in the water, a few boats meeting us towed by their crews or crossing the river from time to time, were our only variety.'

This enforced leisure was employed in clearing off arrears of correspondence, but in a letter written on board the boat he says, 'My immense diocese, I fear, makes it very difficult for me to be so good a man of business as I ought. I have to keep up a large business correspondence without an office or a clerk, when I and my chaplain are travelling night and day, and have much work at each station I visit. The climate is also a puzzle; sometimes the damp, sometimes the drought spoils all letter-copying books. The movement of boats and winds and punkahs disturb the letters as I write them; you must therefore make excuses for me. . . .'

At Dera Ismail Khan the Bishop found the mission languishing, the missionary absent in England, and the place suffering from fever. There were but three candidates for confirmation, one a native converted six months before. There were 20,000 inhabitants in the city, and the station contained about 5,000 more.

At Dera Ghazi Khan he left the river, and returned into the more civilised regions of Mooltan, Lahore, Umritsur, etc.

At Lahore he found the new Theological College for native students opened. There were thirteen resident in it. 'There are four courts with gardens, and towers in which the students lodge, and a Principal's residence erected at one end, with the old building beside it. It seems a suitable and good site and fabric. I liked what I saw of the students, and hope it is a promising institution, and that God may prosper it. Everything is taught in the vernacular. The students take to Hebrew and Greek, and it is hoped will become real scholars. I addressed them on the need of Apostolic energy, faith, hope, orderliness, and love for the evangelisation of India.'

He again urged the building of a church in place of the 'Tomb' that was still used for the service, and in his sermon he spoke of 'David's desire for the Temple,' dwelling on the man after God's own heart planning its magnificence for himself and the heathen, and applying this example to Lahore and the proposed church.

At Umritsur there was an ordination of five natives. The Bishop records their names and where they were baptised in full, and adds, 'I was glad to meet these excellent natives, and have two candidates for the diaconate, and three for the priesthood, out of the Punjab and North-west native church.'

'I had the Hindustani written papers read to me by a vakeel who kindly gave his help, a pleasant and intelligent Christian man. The answers to the Old Testament papers were good on the whole. Two showed some knowledge of Hebrew, which is easily acquired by Arabic scholars. The natives in that part of

India do not speak English as they do in Bengal, but the Bishop by this time had attained such knowledge of Hindustani, that he could examine for Holy Orders, converse, and preach extempore with perfect ease in that language. This made the natives more at home with him, and feel, as they said, they had a real friend in their bishop.

At the ordination service, which lasted nearly four hours, a large number communicating with the newly ordained men, the Bishop preached in Hindustani from the text, 'Let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon,' dwelling on the need of theological, practical, historical skill and knowledge for organising and edifying the Church of the future in India, and appealing to those just ordained so to carry on the work: not at random and by fits and starts, but after the example of St. Paul and his brother apostles.

'Many heathen were present till the imposition of hands. The choir were a little in the way; the want of a chancel makes the arrangement difficult. Still on the whole it was an impressive service, and I trust God's grace was there, and His Holy Spirit given.'

As it was impossible, even by leaving Jullunder on the 22nd, to reach Calcutta for Christmas Day, the Bishop stopped at Cawnpore, and for the first time since they came to India, instead of the usual large Christmas party gathered together at the Palace, he and his sister dined alone at the hotel where they were resting; 'a small Christmas party,' he wrote. The next day they continued their journey, and returned to Calcutta. On this tour the Bishop had travelled over several thousand miles, by train, by dak gharri, by palki, on horseback, on camel-back, in a boat. He had held twenty-six confirmations, seven of which were in Hindustani; two ordinations, one in Hindustani; had consecrated two churches and seven cemeteries, had inspected twenty-five cemeteries, as well as all register and record books at every place he stopped at, had visited every hospital, addressing the patients in each, and every school, examining most of them.

Besides all this he had preached constantly both in English and Hindustani, often with no night's rest, or only in bed for two or three hours: an amount of fatigue which would have tried most young men, but which appeared to have no effect upon the Bishop's iron frame.

During the course of this year the shortening of the services of the Church had occupied his attention, but he said, 'The theory of service, that each office should have its Confession, its Instruction, its Praise, its Intercession, should not be forgotten or neglected.'

'The new Lectionary, though doubtless imperfect, is certainly a great improvement on the old, and is especially adapted to this country, where brevity is a necessity.'

In the Eucharistic office he thought 'no relaxation of the Rubric advisable in European congregations. There is a danger of religion-made-easy becoming one of the snares of the time. Evening Communions are contrary to the rules and practice of the Church. If anyone is really desirous of Holy Communion, he can always find opportunities in the morning, and the clergyman is bound (in my opinion) to offer every such opportunity. It is very undesirable that any of those interpolations which have on some occasions been introduced into the office for Holy Communion at home should be put in use here. They are, in my opinion, objectionable in every point of view.' He issued a recommendation to the clergy as to the various services 'not,' he said, 'to interfere authoritatively with the liberty which has hitherto been usual in this country. The circumstances of the different stations, churches and congregations are so very varied, that any rigid rule would plainly be out of place. It is also evidently desirable that as little abbreviation as possible should be authorised in the services of the Church. I desire therefore that the recommendations should be received only as advice based upon a review of the diocese, consultation with clergy and laity, and due consideration of the precedents given us in England.'

He then gave directions about the use of the services. He concentrated the prayers for the Queen, the Royal Family, and the High Court of Parliament into one short prayer, and requested that Bishop Cotton's mission prayer should be universally and perseveringly used in India. He also drew up a new preface to the Confirmation Service, as more adapted to the circumstances of candidates in that country.

The recommendations were intended primarily for European congregations; the native, he said, may require special recommendations hereafter.

CHAPTER XVII.

1873.

Meeting of S. P. G.—After-dinner speech at Calcutta—Native committee of the Hospital ask for a prayer at the opening—Fifty-seventh birthday—Appeals to England for men—Baptism of polygamists—Consecration of mission churches—Converts from Rome—Memorial against ritualistic practices—His answer—Letters to chaplains about services, and preaching in chapels of other denominations—Athanasian Creed—Visit to Chota Nagpore—Sisterhoods and Brotherhoods—Letter to Father Benson—To a native clergyman.

THE winter was spent in the usual manner at Calcutta. There were confirmations, an ordination, clerical meetings at the Palace, and missionary meetings; with all the usual Christmas hospitalities.

At the annual meeting of the S. P. G. the Bishop dwelt upon the high qualifications needed for missionary work in India. Some one at home had remarked that 'apostles' were wanted in India, and it was so. By 'apostles' he did not mean men necessarily endowed with vast stores of knowledge or of commanding intellect, but men thoroughly devoted to their work, upon whom, as upon the Twelve, discernment and enlightenment would come, as the work opened before them. He spoke of the revival among the religious systems of Mahommedanism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. It was a religious revival, not political in character, and in asserting its reality he was speaking not only from his own observation, but from the testimony of our officials in various parts of the country. This revival of itself added for the time another obstacle to missionary advance.

At a dinner given by the Trades Association, at which the Bishop was present, with the Lieutenant-Governor and other notables, and the leading tradesmen of the city, he made a long and interesting speech, in which, after pointing out the need the clergy had of the co-operation and good opinion of the great centres of commerce, and drawing the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor to the want of roads, which he felt deeply himself, as a constant wayfarer, he made an amusing reference to the need there was for a bridge over the Hooghly. As reported in the 'Englishman,' he said: 'There is one communication near home, to which I venture especially to call the attention of his Honour. I read a story of Captain Marryatt the other day. A friend said to him, when discussing (as men do) a lady of their acquaintance, who had a very flat nose, "She is elegant, beautiful, accomplished, intellectual, but I cannot get over her nose." "How should you," said the novelist, "when it has no bridge." Gentlemen, Calcutta is like that lady, fair, intellectual, beautiful, a city of palaces. It has its courts of law, its Viceregal residence, its Maidan, its equipages, its splendours; and the river Hooghly passing through the midst of it is, as it were, its nose. I turn to his Honour and say, I cannot get over this, for it has no bridge. We have waited long for it. I hope he will give it us speedily. As the means of communication grow and spread, intellect will develop, civilisation increase, and with the growth of the understanding the conscience will grow. To create a conscience, Dr. Duff would say, is the first work of the missionary. It is that which makes the soul receive truth, and which prepares it to accept the Gospel. I have heard various opinions of missionary work. I have seen most of it in this land. I have lately been admitting men into the ministry, and I could see in them the energy and ability which we desire. Faith accompanied, and consecrated, these lower gifts. I have great hope of the evangelisation of this land.'

In a letter home he says that 'the native committee members of the native hospital have asked me to use a prayer at

the ceremony of laying the first stone, which the Viceroy is to do. It sounds strange for Hindus and Mahommedans to be asking for Christian prayer, for of course I could give no other, and perhaps it is a good sign. I believe they look on me as a kind of Gurú[1] in Chief. At all events it recognises Christianity as on the whole the best religion. We are not to have a Moollah and Brahmin on the right hand and on the left, and I made it a condition that it should be a Christian prayer, in which Christians could join. I hope there may be no misapprehension. . . . I have just returned from a short three days' excursion into the Mofussil,[2] and have confirmed in one place 63 and in another 82 candidates, so you see we have some Christians in these regions. The place is about seventy miles from Calcutta.'

'St. Paul's Day, 1873,' he writes in his journal, 'my fifty-seventh birthday. Deus misereatur! After Holy Communion in the cathedral, I took the Bengali service for Sandel, who was ill.'

He gave a dinner to about seventy native Christians belonging to the cathedral congregation on that day, the cathedral being dedicated to St. Paul.

He deeply felt the want of help from England for the mission work. His calls for men seemed never answered, so many fields were left untouched; so many left for others to take up. 'I have been thinking,' he wrote, 'of obtaining help, perhaps men, from the United States. We are flooded with American missionaries of numerous denominations, but the Church does not send us one. The American Church, like the English, seems unable adequately to meet its home demands. . . .' At the close of another letter, 'You speak of the good results of the day of Intercession. I trust that they will soon be apparent, and that the living gift of God may be bestowed in answer to our prayers: apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers. At present the state of affairs is almost heart-breaking.'

He wrote to the Warden of Keble College, Oxford, proposing as a means of obtaining clergy for India the foundation

[1] Priest. [2] Country.

of scholarships there, by the help of one of the funds at the disposal of the Bishop of Calcutta, for the good of the diocese. 'For all our work,' he said, 'it is most desirable to have fairly educated men, as our civilians and planters are clever and able (some strongly sceptical) and our native friends are quick and intelligent, and often flashily, if not deeply educated. . . . I believe that some plan for obtaining a good supply of trained men for India is a necessity of the Church and of its mission work here. . . .'

Questions with reference to the native Church were brought before him. He gave a written opinion, to the secretaries of the two missionary societies, on the difficult question of the baptism of polygamists. 'After much discussion, in various parts of the diocese and province, and taking the opinions of the most earnest European and native clergy and laymen with whom I could converse, I have come to the following conclusion with respect to the admission by baptism into the Church, of such converts as unfortunately have more than one wife. I wish to state that my opinion is given with considerable anxiety and fear, as many good men, I believe, differ from me, and moreover it is only the very exceptional case of married people among the natives of India which justifies, in my opinion, a departure from what may perhaps be called a general rule, viz., that polygamists retaining polygamy in any way should not be baptised. I am therefore of opinion that a man lawfully married in this country to more than one wife (as this is the real question), if desirous of baptism, might (of course being in other respects judged deserving) be baptised, and yet retain his present wives, and give them their conjugal due. He must not marry another, and if one dies he must not marry another in her place. He must pledge himself strictly to monogamy for his children. He must not be admitted to the ministry, or any ecclesiastical office of any kind in the Church, *e.g.* to the Panchayat or Church Council. If the wives are desirous of baptism, they should be admitted to it, and in general when the man

desires baptism he should show that his wives will probably follow him, if they propose to live with him. Each individual case must be carefully considered, and the missionary or clergyman baptising the man must take all possible pains to ascertain that the candidate thoroughly understands the above conditions, and he should be more anxious even than usual to satisfy himself of the man's sincerity in his desire for baptism. Under these safeguards, I do not think that such a solution of the difficulty can have mischievous consequences, or that it is contrary to the Word of God.'

To the Rev. Nehemiah Goreh, a native missionary who had asked whether he should baptise a convert with two wives, he gave the same opinion, adding: 'The case seems to me very difficult, but here in India, where, if the husband was to put away one of his wives, she would be an utter outcast, this appears to me to be the just solution, if the wives also are willing to become Christians. I should therefore support you in admitting the man and his family to baptism on the above conditions. This is an important question, as you observe, but one which I have discussed at length with clergy and laymen whom I consider as meriting respect, and whose opinion is of weight, and which I have also deliberated upon with myself carefully, and with much prayer. I therefore do not shrink from the responsibility which I thus undertake.'

With regard to the consecration of mission churches, he wrote to the secretary of the C. M. S. that he hoped some practicable arrangement might be made. 'The service is only adopted on the responsibility of the officiating bishop, and therefore it is free for each to make adaptations when required. The petition and sentence of consecration have always seemed to me unsuited to India, and our position there, and to assume legal powers which they can scarcely be said to possess. In fact, they are or may be unrealities. They are so except in the case of what are called Government churches, which missionary

churches are not. . . .' He then suggested another form for the petition.

To another question as to receiving converts from Rome, he said: 'There should be some formal act of admission into the Anglican Church. I have recommended a form of renunciation of Romish errors, and adherence to Catholic truth. . . . There should be some distinct act of renunciation and profession.'

In describing the rather untidy state of some of the mission churches in Bengal, which he visited at the end of January, he says: 'I do not think bad and untidy buildings tend to edification. They are one of the common drawbacks in missions, and are to some extent a denial of the glory which the preacher proclaims. They do not announce Christ as a great King (Haggai ii.). Too often the arrangements seem to designate the missionary as the proper object of worship. Of course this is not intentional, but it is the impression an unbiassed mind derives, and it is uncomfortable. The missionaries are so used to it, in all probability, that it does not strike them, but the effect is injurious.'

A memorial against ritualistic practices had been sent to him whilst on his tour in the Punjab in the autumn of 1872. How grieved he was at the divisions and dissensions of Christendom is shown in many passages of his journal, what a stumbling-block he thought them in the conversion of India is apparent; anything therefore that paraded these divisions as this memorial did, especially grieved the loving heart of the Bishop: 'Anything,' he wrote, 'that genders suspicion in the present state of the religious atmosphere, is very mischievous.'

In his answer he pointed out that, as no particular church, no particular clergyman was mentioned, he was left to surmise who was intended to be complained of, that the memorial was full of undemonstrated statements, of very doubtful theological opinions, of trenchant decisions upon questions confessedly open in the Church of England. He begged those who had signed it earnestly to consider whether by these vague

accusations they were not engendering needless suspicion, and causing disquietude and trouble where none existed before. After nine months' diligent canvass of the whole diocese, only 437 names were appended to the memorial, amongst which he was especially grieved to see the names of some missionaries. 'They,' he wrote, 'if any, should be on their guard against party spirit;' and he added, 'that the untidiness of some missionary churches, and the too frequent irreverence of their services, require to be amended by them, and ought to prevent them from criticising others. That which they denominate simplicity appears to me carelessness, and it is, I am assured, one of the obstacles to the growth and expansion of the Christian Church. . . . No one can deplore more than I do the partial growth of unbelief and scepticism; but you are plainly mistaken as to the source to which you trace it. The great propagators of infidelity have ever risen in the opposite direction to that to which you point. Let us all unite to stem it to the best of our power. . . .'

However uncompromising when he thought a principle was involved, yet he was truly loving and charitable towards those who differed from him, and most anxious that the chaplains should be the same. He writes to one and begs him 'to remember how great a responsibility it is to give unnecessary offence, and how much sympathy we ought to feel for those who, though earnest and devout, may differ from us in non-essentials; that there is much truth in the observation that we must, in India, especially bear in mind that we have to minister to very varied congregations, that both clergy and congregations are frequently changing, and that the first law of love should never for a moment be forgotten. . . .'

Again, in another letter: 'I must ask you to guard against ceremonial practices or doctrinal statement, in sermons or otherwise, which may grate on the feelings or opinions of those who in some points differ from you. There is ample common ground in which to show zeal and devotion in the work of the Church

and the service of our dear Lord without offending people's opinions. . . . That which may be done without offence at home often cannot be so done out here, and a division which may be of little account in a Christian country may, in a heathen land, be a most dangerous obstacle to the diffusion of the truth. It is needless to say how we should labour for manifest unity in the Church at least, and how ready we should be to sacrifice our wishes, as far as can conscientiously be done, in order to secure it.'

The unity he so greatly desired was, however, never to be won by sacrifice of any real truth, as may be seen by his refusal to allow of clergymen preaching in chapels of other denominations. 'It is trying,' he writes, 'when important questions relative to the whole Church are asked suddenly, and an immediate answer is sought in matters which might require general deliberation with brother bishops and perhaps with clergy and laity also.'

'The question you ask me is of this character. I have, however, thought it over well, and it has been brought before my consideration, as before that of others, by the actions of Dean Stanley and Dr. Payne Smith and others in rather similar circumstances. I must therefore answer plainly, that as far as I can see (merely to take the question of expediency) all these proceedings have done more harm than good. It is most desirable that we should show as much unity as is consistent with truth. There are certain common works, as for instance, a Bible Society's meeting, in which all Christians can join with truthfulness. I do not think public worship (including preaching) is one of these. It is, in my mind, assuming unity in that point in Church order and government which does not exist. It offends many without any reason sufficient to warrant giving offence.

'I must therefore not only refuse my sanction, but deprecate the proceeding earnestly. Further, as you touch upon the legal question, I am aware, as you are, of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of enforcing any law of the Church in India;

but as far as I have any spiritual jurisdiction, and you have any spiritual responsibility to me, I feel bound to inhibit you from taking the proposed step, as, judging it as a matter of right and wrong, I consider it distinctly to be wrong.

'I am of course aware that I may lay myself open to the charge of prejudice and bigotry. I think myself indeed very free from both, but cannot expect the world always to agree with me. I have to answer plainly, according to the best of my judgment, after prayer for guidance, and to leave the rest to God. If I please men, I cannot be the servant of Christ.'

He invited the other Indian bishops to unite with him in a short appeal to the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury on the subject of the Athanasian Creed. The appeal ran, 'We the Metropolitan and Bishops of the Province of India and Ceylon earnestly deprecate any alteration of the creed commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius, or of the Rubric in the book of Common Prayer directing its use on certain Sundays and festivals, but see no objection to the principle of making a synodical declaration as to the interpretation of the creed, and the sense in which its statements are to be received.'

The Bishops of Bombay and Colombo responded to the invitation, the Bishop of Madras dissented, and the appeal was forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by the three bishops, with the Bishop of Madras' dissent recorded and its reason.

In a letter to the Bishop of Bombay, we find, 'It seems to me at all times a fair question for the Church to decide whether such and such formulary should be used, retained in, or withdrawn from the Book of Prayer. But the attack was really made on the creed itself, and on the idea of dogma altogether, at least in many quarters. Hence while it was a mistake to involve the maintenance of the Catholic faith, or our status as a branch of the Catholic Church, in the retention

of the creed in the public form of worship, it was necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to make a decided stand and to declare that it should be retained as it stands. This seems exactly the principle of St. Athanasius about the *homo-ousion*, and indeed of all faithful and wise maintainers of the truth.'

In the same letter he speaks 'of the extreme danger of scepticism. Pantheism is the end in reality at which, without revelation, argumentative men must arrive. If revelation and the spiritual idea which it involves are rejected, I do not see any end except that which Emile Bernoux foretold as the result of education here in India: a scientific pantheism. As to the doctrine of annihilation (which is the *Neibhan* of Buddhism) it seems to me essentially unphilosophical. That nothing can cease to exist, seems an axiom in the natural world, and analogy would surely say, that this is at least highly probable of the spiritual world, or of human souls, even should men maintain that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit.'

The Bishop paid another visit to Chota Nagpore in March, the fifth journey he had made to that province. This time it was to consecrate the new mission church, and to ordain five Kôls as deacons. These men had all been trained at Ranchi by the Rev. J. Whitley. The Bishop examined them himself in the Old and New Testament, Christian evidences, ecclesiastical history, and the Prayer Book. 'They all passed, and passed well. It was a great relief and pleasure to find them so thoroughly taught and prepared.'

After the consecration of the church on March 7 the Bishop held a confirmation of 265 men and women. He went out and confirmed them in their rows, as they knelt for him to lay his hands on them. At the ordination on the 8th, which was in Hindi, the church was thronged with about 1,400 people. The surpliced choir, consisting entirely of Kôls, men and boys, sang very well, and there were about 500 communicants. This did not include 300 who had participated on the

previous day, when the church was consecrated, and who did not again communicate.

The account of this Sunday's work, which included Matins and a sermon by the Bishop to the English congregation, the long Hindi ordination with a large number of communicants, and in the evening a sermon again to the little English flock at the cantonment at Dorunda, near Ranchi, is closed in the journal with no word expressive of weariness, but with 'This was a very interesting day, and I trust the grace of God was present with us, moving the newly ordained and the large congregation.'

'The mission seems thoroughly prospering. The new church is, on the whole, a fine and useful building. The rest-houses and schools are working well throughout the district. There is a steady and regular increase in all the congregations and flocks, and the five deacons will, I hope, obtain a larger increase and more abundant blessing.'

There is a Seamen's Mission in Calcutta, with a floating chapel and a chaplain attached to it, and the Bishop generally went once or twice when he was in Calcutta to preach to the sailors. This year he began, and continued for the rest of his life, the practice of having, every Sunday that he and his sister were at home, some of the young midshipmen from the merchant ships, after service on board their floating chapel, to the Palace to spend some hours there. Many of these boys used to look forward to these visits to the Palace as a break in their hard lives, and seemed most grateful for the Bishop's fatherly care of them in the foreign land.

In May he wrote from Darjeeling to his sister, who had gone to England for her health :—'We have had storms which were, I believe, land storms, but they always seem to sound louder and worse when anybody whom one loves is at sea.' He goes on to give her instructions to endeavour again to find 'sisters' for work in India, or, if not sisters, ladies to come out and help. 'There is something sad and depressing that there should be so

much difficulty in meeting with ladies ready for such work, when there is a million extra of the sex not wanted at home. . . .'

To Mrs. Butler, at Wantage, where there is a Sisterhood :— 'We can as yet hear of no "sisters" to come over and help us. . . . St. John's had given us hopes, but we have just heard that even they can do nothing. . . . I wish you were all less hard-hearted about sisters for us, and would really think of 240,000,000 of people instead of tiny Wantage.'

Though it seemed as if sisters could not be found to go out to India, he still had hopes of a brotherhood, and he wrote again to Father Benson at Cowley: 'I am thankful to hear that you retain your purpose of undertaking missionary enterprise in India, and in my diocese. I cannot expect that you should be able to carry out your old and cherished intentions without a considerable interval. You have to find and then to prepare your weapons before you can use them. As to the questions which arise, the first perhaps is, would it be advisable to attempt missions (in the home sense) to English and Europeans? It is very difficult to judge. I have consulted with our best military chaplain, and have visited all our civil and military stations. My impression is, as was that of the chaplain alluded to, that we cannot offer a promising field of that kind.

'I think the number in almost all stations is too small to give such congregations as are nearly, if not quite, necessary for awakening. People in India are for the most part very busy, and have the usual non-impulsiveness of busy people. In the Presidency towns, *i.e.* in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, something might be done, and, perhaps, in Allahabad and Lahore. Have you had any experience of soldiers, in the way of mission work among them? There are places where there are some 1,500 and 1,600 soldiers, but then they are scattered over large cantonments, and it is physically difficult to collect them.

'Our Church, for the most part, is much in the same state that we were at home, say, about thirty years ago. Very few

people have definite views, and the strong Scotch element in the Service infuses itself largely into the religious consciousness of men, especially of the leading and earnest men amongst us. The amount of scepticism is very great. The "Westminster" and other publications are largely taken in. On the other hand, there is a considerable amount of earnestness and devotion, but rather uncombined and distracted in operation by the physical difficulties and the other causes mentioned above. On the whole, I think that our organisation as a diocese is fair, considering our difficulties, and that the clergy generally are anxious to co-operate in any scheme for good. They are, however, necessarily rather isolated and thrown upon their own individual resources.

'From our last returns I gather that we have, say, about 60,000 English churchmen of every sort and kind (excluding natives), scattered about India in this diocese, forming, I suppose, more than half of the European Christian element. Hence you will be able to judge whether such missions as have been thought of would be likely to succeed.

'With regard to your own coming, I can scarcely give a more decided answer. It would be extremely satisfactory to me if you could come over to us, and see with your eyes, and hear with your ears, the nature and character of the field in India. You would also better find out what modification of rule, and what adaptations for climate, existence in India would require, and you could also better understand what form your missionary work among the heathen had better adopt. I think myself that it would be easier to establish your missionaries in such work first, and work from and through it on Europeans, than the reverse. . . .

'In Burma I think a brotherhood would be especially useful, as the Buddhistic priesthood (which it ought not to be called) is, as you know, a body of teaching monks, living cenobitically by a strict rule, with a certain amount of morality, but without God. Rangoon and the Irawadi Valley up to Bhamo and

beyond to China give a really grand field, but then a knowledge of Burmese and cognate languages would be necessary. If anyone came out knowing the languages grammatically he could soon pick up by practice the spoken tongue, but still a year, or perhaps two, would be necessary to give religious facility. If he knew nothing of them to begin with, it would take two or three years, some say even five, to obtain real conversational and argumentative power.

'Work among the "aboriginal" tribes, as they are called, Kols, Santhals, Gonds, is easier and much more rapid, and this would give a very promising field in many instances. With respect to ways and means, I doubt whether you could expect much help out here. Our people on the whole, I think, give largely considering their means, but it must be remembered that Indian officials are in general (really) poor, having it may be fair incomes, but no property or means of their own, and bound to save for their old age, and for wives and children, often living in Europe for education. I doubt therefore whether much is to be expected here. . . . In India we have no help from the American Episcopal Church. . . . We have American Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Episcopal Methodists, hard at work, but not one Episcopalian. Hence I am apt to attribute vitality where I see living energies. Your picture of the Church in the United States is more encouraging, but wherever and whenever there has been real life at home, there has been real life also in mission work abroad. The want of this seems one of the bad signs in the "High" movement at home. If you can remove it, it will be a double comfort. . . . It is true the various denominations do not seem to me able to build up and extend as well as they make converts at the beginning, but then we cannot even enter into other men's labours for lack of men and means.'

In a letter to his brother he speaks of the difficulty of elevating the native character. 'The task is more difficult than people at home imagine. I think what experience teaches

about most of the natives, at least up to the present time, is that the educated people here disappoint one. They advance up to a certain point, and then in general retrograde rapidly, just when they should be taking the lead in the movement of their fellow-countrymen's progress. I feel this myself in our spiritual matters. They are very promising up to a point, and then there is a dead stop, and then something of a collapse. The Pauline energy is wanting. May God give it us in His good time. There have been heathen reformers, Kabir and Chaitanyas, in time past, not to go back to Sakya Muni, and if such men, only christianized, were found, we might yet have a great movement.

'As it is, there is much more vitality in our conversion work up here than there seems to be in Bombay. . . .'

How carefully he watched over the native clergy may be seen from this fatherly letter to one of them: 'I fear that I must write to you in all affection but yet in some little trouble of mind. Has not your mind lately been distracted from your work? The disquietude and trouble which you have experienced have, I am afraid, turned you from your old devotion, and from the strictness and earnestness of life which I used to value in you. . . . Mission work requires a hard and unceasing strain. Its success involves concentrated energy and unwearied devotion. . . . Let me earnestly beseech you to shake off all temptations and troubles, and earthly anxieties, and give yourself to your work in an apostolic spirit. Let me ask you to "perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord." You may do great things if you will, and I trust to be encouraged and comforted by hearing that your work is again prospering under God's blessing, and that the Church through you is being glorified.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

1873.

Letter to Chief Commissioner of Burma—Visitation of Burma—Visit to Tonghoo to enquire into the divisions among the Karen converts—Letter of Rev. H. Matthew—Mandalay—Visit to King of Burma—Stations on the Irawadi—Bassein—Rangoon—Letter about the Karens.

THE report of the Baptist mission in Burma was sent to the Bishop by the chief commissioner of that province, who wished to open Government schools with their purely secular teaching in a sort of opposition to the mission schools which had been at work there for some few years. Against this the Bishop had remonstrated, and the report was sent to him to prove that children were kept from school by the fear of conversion in mission schools, but in answer he said, 'The remark which you have noted tells as far as it goes in favour of the idea that children are kept from school by the fear of conversion. It is, however, the only instance given in the report, and is contrary to all the opinions which I have previously heard.'

'Of course there may be a change in the sentiments of Buddhists on this point since I was in Burma. I at that time took considerable pains to ascertain the fact, and my decided impression was that the Burmese were not in the least unwilling that the children should be converted at a reasonable time of life, and in an open way. Even in India I consider the mission schools to be as popular as the Government schools. I have always regretted and do regret now that the teachers of Government schools should be excluded from offering Christian instruction

on the school premises out of school hours. I stated this publicly at the laying the stone of the Presidency College, as I feel certain that the conviction that these teachers were religious men would strengthen the influence, and increase the attraction of Government schools instead of undermining them. . . .' He then goes on to speak of a proposed Church Burmese mission, a matter quite independent of the Karen Baptist mission. 'As to interference, the cry is in general of the most one-sided character. No denomination scruples intruding on Church missions, and I do not think it right to give any *pledge* of non-interference, or to enter into any discussion with the missionary societies. I am convinced, as far as it is possible to be convinced on these matters, that I am only actuated by a true desire for the extension of Christ's kingdom, and the maintenance of His truth. The Baptists are very seriously in error in my belief, and I also consider that they are very likely to see only their own side of the difficulties which have arisen among them, and of the way in which they should be met. I may, however, undertake that every precaution which is right shall be taken, and the real bond of charity be regarded. . . .'

The difficulties alluded to in the end of this letter were among the American Baptists themselves. A quarrel had arisen amongst them at Tonghoo, and one party desirous of being received into the English Church, had applied to the Bishop with that object.

Before he went to Burma in May he wrote to Mandalay (where he was to go for the purpose of consecrating the church which had been built by the king) and requested that no preparation should be made. 'I wish to avoid all state, and all parade, and all excitement, and that we should commune together for the development of Christ's work, and mutual edification and consolation. Regular devotion and frequent prayer with you and those who believe, are what I look forward to chiefly.'

The tour in Burma this year included Mandalay, in indepen-

dent Burma, as well as the usual stations, and Tonghoo and Bassein. The two latter are very inaccessible, and had never been visited by a Bishop. 'My object,' he wrote, 'in visiting Tonghoo is to consecrate the new church, and the various cemeteries in the way, and, at my own wish, and also that of Government, to examine into the difficulties and divisions that have arisen at Tonghoo among the Karen converts, and to see the S. P. G missionary, whom at the desire of the Home Committee, as well as at the request of the chaplain at Tonghoo, I had sent there for mission work among the Burmese of that place. I had directed him to take the chaplain's and official's advice, and, in a letter of April 19, to confine himself to Burman ministrations, and not to interfere with the Karens, but to make no promise for the future, as it seemed to me impossible to know what phase the division might take. The questions agitated among them, and agitating them, will, without doubt, be more intelligible on the spot.'

The journey to Tonghoo took ten days and nights in boats, with occasional halts of a few hours to rest the boatmen. It was up different rivers and canals, and on the rivers they had to wait each day for the bore.[1] Most of the voyage was through sandy alluvial flats, and was dull till they entered the Sitang river, pretty in places, with a beautiful reach close to Sitang.

'Tonghoo, with its old rampart and trench, must have been a formidable city in its palmy days, when its kings conquered Pegu and Arracan, and were the dominant power of these regions for some time.

'It was apparently twice the head of a great kingdom. It is of this kingdom (the second dominion) that Odoardo Barbessa speaks as Verma in A.D. 1520. In 1569 the king, called Aleagur or Brama, king of Pegu, extended his conquests over Ava, and other adjoining states. It was the wealth and splendour of his court which made Pegu so famous in Europe as an empire of fabulous magnificence. The walls and wide moat

[1] A tide wave.

are still easily traceable, and ruins abound in every direction, although almost entirely swallowed up in jungle.

'Its population had sunk to 2,000, but has now risen in fifteen years to 16,000, and is rapidly increasing. When the road is finished, or the water communication with Rangoon improved, it will become an important place. There will be much traffic through it with Karennee and the hills, and perhaps onward even with China. The canal, which is to come into the Sitang river above Sitang, will evade the bore and the shallows of the Khayasso, and make the river-way comparatively simple.'

The Bishop had interviews with the different American Baptist missionaries, the parties in the dispute he had gone to investigate. He had also much conversation on the subject with the English officials on the spot. Two native magistrates of the two chief tribes of Christian Karens came also to see him, and he had a long and interesting conversation with them through an interpreter.

'They gave me much information about their people. They stated that there were about 6,000 Christian Karens in their and the neighbouring villages, and that they were now equally divided into two sections. The division is of long standing, namely of about eight or ten years. They said the party which clave to the old missionaries, the Masons, would not return to the American Baptist Union, that they were decided and resolute. I urged upon them most strongly the desirability of a complete reunion. They fully understood me, but they adhered very steadfastly to their declaration. They said there was a great danger of a general falling away. They were most desirous that we should take them up.

'With respect to the Institute property, they wished (and the Karens in general wished) that it should be conveyed to the Karen body, the Educational Association if possible. They thought that one Christian teacher from each party should be chosen, and that they, the Najooks, should arbitrate fairly be-

tween them. They seemed very straightforward and sensible men, Manj Bawi in particular. I was struck with their earnestness and reality, and their desire for the real welfare of the Karens.'

On the Sunday, after the English morning service at which the Bishop preached, he went to the Burmese service; 150 were present, for the most part Karens, and among them some of those who had adhered to Mr. Mason. On Midsummer Day the church was consecrated, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. In this very inaccessible spot, the Bishop records 'the singing was very sweet and hearty, the service was earnest. I have indeed been very thankful to see all our services so well attended, and so heartily joined in by the residents, both civil and military.

'Several of the American Baptists came to one or more of our services. Three Phoongyees came to see me, and I had a long conversation with them with the aid of Major Lloyd, who spoke favourably of their reputation for ability. The head Phoongyee and one other were comparatively silent. The third talked a good deal and seemed rather a clever fellow. They wished to know who I was, and what I thought of their Buddhism. I questioned them as to their expectation of Maitréya Buddha, about which they did not seem clear. Their explanation of *Neibhan* corresponded with the idea of Bigandet, Bernoux, M. Müller, Spence Hardy, Gogerly, and St. Hilaire. It could not be made out to be anything but annihilation. They seemed to know nothing about the Milinda prasna,[2] but to argue merely as Nagasena argues in it. They denied idolatry, and said the images were only remembrancers of the thought of Gaudama.' Some Chinese Shans with the S. P. G. Catechist came to the Bishop. 'These Shans were fine-looking, broad-shouldered, civilized-looking men. They had come three months' journey, one month north of Bhamo, to work on the roads. They wished, according to their statement, to return and fetch their wives and settle. Major Lloyd gave them a good character. They

[2] See *Eastern Monachism*, by Spence Hardy.

wished for some missionary to be sent up to their country, but with some vagueness.'

About two miles from Tonghoo there are two pagodas 'on a hill from which the view is very fine. The rich plain round Tonghoo with its wonderful verdure, the fine river, the green plain on the east side reaching away to the Karen hills, of which three lower ranges are to be seen, and then the highest rising to more than 7,000 feet beyond, all combined to form a beautiful landscape.

'I have drawn up a tolerably full report for the Government, and have directed Mr. Warren, to avoid giving offence to the American Baptists, to act as chaplain for the present, and to inform me faithfully of the turn of events. I shall be able in the lapse of half a year or so to see what the result of my advice will be, and shall know how to act.

'The questions are difficult of solution, and everyone at Tonghoo seemed so liable to change of purpose and view that it is not easy to see what is right and expedient. *Deus misereatur.*'

The Rev. H. Matthew, who is now Archdeacon of Lahore, accompanied the Bishop on part of this tour, visiting with him the towns in Arracan, and Rangoon, Moulmein and Tonghoo in Burma. After the Bishop's death Mr. Matthew wrote the following letter, describing the tour and the effect produced by their visits to these remote places in the diocese.

'Though indefatigable himself, the Bishop was always forward to recognise the need of rest and recreation for others, and with his usual kindness of heart he proposed what was practically a holiday for me, arranging that Mr. Jacob should take my work at Fort William. Ascension Day occurring on one of the days we were at sea, I remember well how simply and solemnly, after a service held on deck, the Bishop addressed the captain and three or four Europeans of the ship's crew. The principal object of this part of the journey was a visit to Tonghoo, a station so remote and difficult of access that it had never before been visited by Bishop or Archdeacon. I believe the Bishop had

been specially urged to go by the Government to investigate the disputes between the Baptist missionaries and some of the Karen converts who wished to be received into the Church of England. To this reception the civil authorities were at that time opposed, and it was an evidence of their confidence in Bishop Milman's moderation and freedom from mere proselytism, that they requested him to investigate the matter. This he did very thoroughly and with great patience, and although no decided action was adopted at the time, the Bishop came to the conclusion that eventually the converts in question would be absorbed by the Romanists or relapse into heathenism unless he received them into the Church of England, and it was not long before the missionaries of the S. P. G. were authorised to instruct them.

'I was very much impressed all through this tour with the influence exercised by the Bishop at the various stations visited, and especially at the smaller places. I think that I had up to this time been one of those who regretted that the Bishop spent so much time in travelling and did not remain longer in Calcutta, but I had certainly undervalued the spiritual effect of his visitations. Not only in church but in less formal gatherings, and in society, it was evident that the Bishop's simplicity and godly sincerity *told*. No race or class was overlooked in these short visits. I well remember an address on Buddhism which the Bishop gave to the detachment of the 45th Regiment at Tonghoo, thoroughly interesting the soldiers, and yet evincing such a complete mastery of the subject as to elicit the enthusiastic admiration of the venerable Dr. Mason. Again, at another station, two Colonels came forward as candidates for confirmation, though they had not entertained the idea before the Bishop's arrival. They were moved by a sermon he preached at the consecration of the station church, on the obligation to use humbly and thankfully every means of grace and ordinance of God at our disposal. "Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness."'

At Rangoon the Bishop examined the mission schools with

considerable care, and expressed his decided opinion that they did not deserve to be put on one side, as they were by the chief commissioner, saying, 'His motives are doubtless high, but it is a matter of much regret that the secularism and antagonism to Christianity of the Indian Educational Department should be introduced into Burma, which has hitherto felt no jealousy of, but been friendly to missionary education. I feel confident that socially and politically, as well as in a religious and spiritual aspect, it is a mistake and a misfortune.

'The 10th of July being the 1st Wazo[3] of Buddhists, was a great day at the Shway dagong pagoda. There was a stream of people, in the early morning, going up and coming down dressed in their best, flower-crowned and gay-looking, offering their candles, flowers, fruit, rice, etc. There was no appearance of intelligent devotion, scarcely of unintelligent. There were acts of worship, kneelings and prostrations, individual, never collective, a recitation of formularies, and the offerings. Dogs, rooks, boys, girls, men, women, all chattering and bargaining as usual. We did not see one Phoongyee. I fancy they were occupied in their kyoungs on this their first Lent day.

'This ascending and descending stream flowed all day. In the evening there seemed certain celebrations in various kyoungs, but it is difficult to get information.'

At Prome, up the river Irawadi, 'the pagoda was looking very smart with some fresh gilding, and it being the eighth day of the Wazo Moon, there was a considerable number of people. Some were sitting in one of the Theins,[4] and listening to *Bana*.[5] An oldish man was repeating *Bana*, and apparently applying it to the time, season, and heart. A second Thein was occupied for a similar purpose. In another there was a cither and lute on which some men were playing queer jiggy airs.'

The journey to Mandalay was in a steamer which took in cargoes of *Gnapé*, a concoction of putrid fish used by the

[3] Month devoted to the Buddhist fast.
[4] Chapel. [5] The Word.

Burmese as a relish with curry; it had a very offensive smell. They took up empty casks also, to bring down on the return journey petroleum from Yenan Khyoung, the town 'of filthy water,' as the Burmans call the petroleum. 'The oil-wells are two miles and a half from the river, a royal monopoly which the king works. New wells are opened from time to time. The trade is increasing. The paraffin candles made from it are very white, and are popular as offerings at the pagodas.

'At Mingjan, a busy bustling place, there is a large exportation of cotton northward to Bhamo and China. China merchants are said to come and buy there.

There were several new buildings, kyoungs, phyasaths, and one Thein with arches and a bright new brass Gaudama. 'Four brothers had just built four buildings for *Karma*.[6] One of them showed us in; a very kind-hearted pleasant man he seemed, and spoke very simply and naturally of what he had done. There seems to me something of a Buddhistic revival all over Burma since my last visit, but of course it is easy to mistake in such rapid passages as mine.

'One of the assistant commissioners however told me that there appeared to him to be a Buddhist revival accompanied by some tendencies to division and sectarianism spreading over the country at present. It is curious to observe such similar phenomena in England and in Europe generally, and among Hindus and Mahommedans in Hindustan, and if Mr. Palgrave is to be believed, generally in the nearer East.'

The journey from Rangoon to Mandalay took thirteen days, owing to the heavy flats attached to the steamer, and the heavy lading.

The Bishop was invited by the political agent to stop at the Residency, but declined as he had promised to go to the clergy-house, to which he proceeded on the 25th, as soon as he had landed. At the evening service in the college chapel he preached on the 'victories of faith.' In this chapel the different

[6] See *Eastern Monachism*, p. 5.

services, confirmation and others, were held till the consecration of the new church, which took place on the 31st.

'This church, erected by the king in the clergy-house compound or grounds, is of wood, well-built, and designed with nave and two aisles, and a square tower at the west end in which is the porch. It is a favourable specimen of woodwork; the carving of the capitals, etc., very ornamental. Queen Victoria gave the font, which is of coloured Devonshire marbles, and several other gifts for the church have been received.'

Most of the Christians at Mandalay assembled at the consecration of the church. The king had sent one of the princes to represent him, and he with some officials sat in one aisle on a rather raised place with their followers; the other non-Christians were in the opposite aisle; the Christians in the nave. There was a surpliced choir of ten boys and two men. The service was in English, but the Old Hundredth was sung in Burmese during the collection; the heathen and non-communicants withdrawing before the celebration of Holy Communion.

The Bishop, accompanied by his chaplain and Mr. Marks, paid a visit to the king, at which several of the princes and the ministers were present with the interpreter.

'The princes set down their betel-boxes, and we had a little conversation, when the princes bowed to the ground and everyone bowed in the same way, and after a minute or two, the door behind the daïs opened, and the king came in with three pretty little girls, his daughters, about four or five years old. He sat down on the carpet and leant his arm on the cushion. He is in his sixtieth year and looks his age; has a kindly aspect, the receding Alompra forehead, whitish hair, and rather weak eyes. He was dressed in a white linen jacket and brightish red and yellow patso; his name is Mindoon Min, from a place below Thyet Myo. I cannot make out how many wives and children he possesses, but he lives in continual trouble and anxiety because of this miserable polygamy. He is apparently kind-hearted and good-tempered, but never ventures out, and

since the Katha princes' rebellion has had all the weapons of his guards even kept in the palace, because any one of his sons might make a party and a sudden incursion with some of his own soldiers, if they had their arms outside with them.'

The Bishop had some conversation with the king through an interpreter, and thanked him on behalf of the English Church for the donation of a beautiful church. The king enquired the extent of his jurisdiction, whether it was over Ceylon as well as India.

After the king had left the room with his daughters, the Bishop and his companions were invited to partake of sweetmeats and fruit.

'We then went,' he wrote, 'to see the white elephant, a tall Tusker said to be savage, not very white nor very handsome He was shackled under a gilded shed. There was also a juvenile white elephant rather less brown, about eight or nine years old When splendidly caparisoned, the Tusker must be a fine-looking beast; he has his revenues, and district to provide him with food

'We walked about the palace enclosure, and looked at the different buildings; they are neither beautiful nor striking. In fact, though I did not expect much from the palace after the description which I had read, it was poorer and meaner than I anticipated. The whole sovereignty seems a small affair; the ludicrous soldiers and their ludicrous equipment add to the sense of absurdity—you feel as if one good puff would blow the whole concern to the winds. Yet the Burmese think themselves the ἄνακτες ἀνδρων and have a natural pretentiousness which is comical in its entirety and absoluteness.

'One of my servants said this Badshah [7] is a poor article compared to our Rajahs; perhaps European palaces suggested themselves to me, and we may all be satisfied with ourselves without much reason; nevertheless I scarcely think that England, or India even, recognizes the utter feebleness of these queer courts.'

[7] King.

'We left the palace and went to Mandalay Hill to get a breeze and a view after the trial of a royal visit and the close-smelling courts.

'We then inspected the royal "merit house." This is a treble square of shrines; each shrine contains a white marble slab with a chapter of the Pitaka cut in the front and back of the slab. It is the present sovereign's design and work. It is his crowning "merit" by which he intends to help himself to the throne of a Chakrawarti or the chair of a Buddha in some future trans-incorporation, for transmigration of souls does not express the Buddhist doctrine.'

The Bishop examined the S. P. G. school, which was opened in 1869 with twenty-three boys, and this year, 1873, ninety-four; fifty-six boarders, the rest day-boys—it is entirely supported by the king.

On the Sunday, besides the usual services, there was a baptism of a Burmese, his wife, three children, and a lad from the school. 'These may be considered the firstfruits definitely of the mission and the school, and will, I hope, be the beginning of a real harvest. As far as I can hear, there is not a whisper of persecution or vexation toward the family which has taken this step.'

'It was interesting to see the Queen's font used on this occasion. The service is a hopeful promise of the harvest; (may Christ grant it).

'We went down one day by water to Amarapura. The lake is singularly lovely. The mountains beyond of beautiful outline. The buildings round it curious and picturesque. I made a little sketch, with a crowd of good-humoured Burmans round about me. It is strange, as has been observed by others, that Burmans understand and recognise even poor attempts at drawing, while most Hindus cannot recognise the most accurate delineations, and are utterly unable to make out the subject of the picture. We rode back on ponies, and found the road stopped with a *tamasha*, a queer ceremony or custom of rope-pulling, on the plan of 'French and

English'[8] between rainers and no-rainers. When rain is wanted, this ceremony is observed sometimes for months; the rainers have to win, but there is often a long and strong pull first—it does not seem to be a religious or Buddhistic rite, but a tradition of the place. It is said Buddha and Devadatta had a pull all day, and were refreshed by Thegia Nath with rain afterwards.

'The king talks of restoring and completing the Mingoon pagoda which was destroyed before it was finished by the earthquake in 1859, but this is probably one of the usual talks. He had also, Mr. Johnson said, for the purpose of filling a sacred lake near Rangoon, got a canal and a centrifugal pump at a cost of 5,000 rupees, and then stopped: set up a sawmill and then stopped: is opening iron blasting furnaces which are soon to stop: has three steel steamers on the stocks which are still there: explored the Shan hills and is told of valuable mines, but will not open them. So it is at all times apparently and with every matter.

'Mr. Johnson is a mining engineer now employed by the king. He seems able and intelligent, and a worthy excellent man; he has explored the Shan mountains, mostly toward the south-east. He describes them as most picturesque and beautiful—rivers and waterfalls, one fall 1,000 feet high, glens, precipices, and trees. The mineral wealth he thinks great; there seem to be coal, silver, antimony, lead, tin, and especially copper of great abundance and great metal percentage. It is, however, scarcely probable that the king will "exploit" these riches in any rational way.'

Before the Bishop left Mandalay he wrote an account of the state of the mission and of the men employed in it; how the school was entirely dependent on the king when it ought to be independent; how, if freed from the trammels of the Court, the mission might do more, though its existence might be imperilled. A scheme also is sketched out for sending two or three Burmans to Bishop's College at Calcutta, where there might be a Burman

[8] Now more generally known by the name of 'the tug of war.'

house; they should study in English, and keep up their Burmese among themselves; they might study Buddhism in the English books on the subject, and return to their own country as teachers or ministers.

The Bishop left Mandalay on August 4, after a 'pleasant and interesting though not altogether satisfactory visit.'

On the voyage down, after passing the frontier into British Burma, where he found 'a heavy load of letters' waiting for him, he stopped at the different stations on the river for services, confirmations, etc.

At Henzada he left the Irawadi, and rode across to the Bassein river, which he descended in boats with his chaplain and the doctor who had accompanied him throughout this tour in Burma. Three boats with Burman crews, of four oars and a steerer to each boat, took them down to Bassein. They were three days and nights on the way, stopping for a few hours only at two places where there were bungalows to rest in.

'The banks of the river are monotonous but pretty, with here and there large villages. One night we heard in the village opposite the bungalow an interminable service consisting of an endless repetition of some Pali formularies, chanted in a queer sort of monotone by a number of voices. The effect of this service across the water was striking for a time, but the apparent repetition of the same words (whatever their meaning) had a wearisome effect, and the Burmese voices are not sweet even when softened by their passage over the river.

'As we floated down, one of my boatmen kept up a long Pali hymn or strain for an hour at a time. He did not understand a word of it, but recited it very fluently.'

The Bishop only remained one day at Bassein, but he consecrated the church and cemetery, for which purpose he had gone to this rather inaccessible spot.

He found there an American Baptist mission, with about 6,000 Christians belonging to it, from the various villages reaching half-way to Rangoon. At the request of the missionaries, he

visited and examined the different schools. 'Of course, not knowing Karennee, and scarcely any Burmese,' he wrote, 'I cannot examine except through an interpreter, always very unsatisfactory, but they seem on the whole well taught. They sang sweetly. With more teaching their singing would be excellent. It is curious that the Kols sing in the same sweet way, and have musical gifts, which at Ranchi have been more fully developed. The same may be said of the Santhals.

'I afterwards called on the Roman Catholic clergyman, who had been at Tonghoo for eleven years, and whose old school I had seen there. He showed us the new church he is building. About 4,000 Christians belong to this mission.

'It is miserably distressing to see how *nil* the work of the English Church is in this interesting part of the world.

'Our officials complain that the Karen Christians keep too much aloof from them, and do not welcome them to their villages so gladly as the heathen Karens. I fancy the American missionaries rather desire to keep them a people apart. Again our officials would prefer a general teaching of Burmese, and more English. Here also the same feeling, for which there is a good deal to be said, may influence the ideas of the missionaries.'

A small steam launch had been sent to meet the Bishop at Bassein, and in this he returned to Rangoon. When they left the Bassein river they turned 'into narrow creeks like the Sonderbunds, only less black, and prettier.' When they neared Rangoon at night, they 'passed through a wonderful fleet of fishing boats in the dark, each with its fire shining and reflected in the water.' They passed sometimes through more open channels, sometimes through closer, till they emerged into the Rangoon river a little above Rangoon, where they arrived on August 23.

During this last visit to Rangoon, he held a Burmese confirmation, as well as a second English one, gave an address to the soldiers of the 67th, and visited the American Baptist Karen Theological Seminary under Dr. Binney.

'This is one of the most remarkable missionary institutions,' he wrote; 'there are now about eighty pupils training for preachers and teachers. They come in from all parts of Burma. Numerous teachers have already gone out from hence, who are said to have been very successful in their work. The course followed seems well adapted for its end. I suggested two subjects for an exercise, one St. Paul at Athens, the other the object of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The students gave very good and fluent expositions, as far as I could judge through Dr. Binney's translation. The manner and faces of these young men were very striking. There was an earnestness and straightforwardness of aspect and manner which it was pleasant to witness. Old Dr. Binney is the only English (American) teacher. The other teachers are Karens. All the work is carried on in Karennee. They can, however, mostly speak Burmese, but I believe as a foreign language.

'The conversion of the Karens, their self-reliance, their ready devotion, their simple but intellectual character, their faithfulness and earnestness, are singularly worthy of note, and singularly interesting. The older American missionaries also have been men of real power in starting them in their career.

'The wisdom of studying in Karennee is very doubtful, as they might if they knew Burmese well, be missionaries among the Burmans, which they cannot now well be. The divisions of the Karennee language itself also have been perpetuated by their system of having books in each dialect.'

On August 28, the Bishop left Rangoon in the mail steamer for Calcutta, where he arrived safely, after encountering some rough weather, which was not unusual at that season of the year. Before he went to Burma in May, the Bishop had written home, 'I am afraid that we shall be running a little risk from cyclones in the Burmese trip, but unfortunately I cannot choose my time of travelling. The work must be done in some way or other during nine months of the year, and I must fit in the various regions as I can.'

The visit to Tonghoo, which he had made at great personal inconvenience to himself, to enquire on the spot into the differences between some of the Karen converts and the American missionaries, drew on him a long correspondence on the subject, but he maintained the right of the Karens to have opinions of their own. 'Surely,' he wrote, 'they are not to be bandied about or driven hither and thither like sheep; they have consciences as well as we have. They have a right to their own opinion, and their own belief, and will use it. I am perfectly certain that the representatives of the Karens who had parted from the American missionaries, set before me their own real feelings and the determination of their compatriots freely and independently. . . . A letter has come to me from a leading native teacher among the Kaiens, asking me to undertake the charge of 2,000 Karens. Of course it would be unfair and unwise to take any such step, until every opportunity of return to the American Baptist missionaries has been afforded, and until the S. P. G. could take the field in force, should it become necessary to prevent a relapse into unbelief. The Karens are a clever and energetic race, thoughtful and resolute. They seem extremely conscientious. Their present resolution has no secular motive. Surely they should be permitted, on due deliberation, to choose that form of Christianity which they prefer. Religious liberty ought not to be denied to them. The American missionaries do not, in my opinion, sufficiently comprehend the determination of a large body of the Karens not to return to them. It may be a mistake, the alienation may pass away, but nothing could be stronger than their resolution to reject the idea of reunion. There is absolutely nothing whatever to hinder, impede, or delay their return; they know the officials rather favour it. There is no Government pressure, no official discouragement, no offer from the Church of England. They declare themselves to be serious, resolute, conscientious, in their determination not to reconcile themselves to the Baptist body, and in their desire to be received into the Church of England. I have had strong

appeals from them, but I have hitherto returned no answer. . . . I must, however, add, that if they persevere in their appeal, and if there grows up a great danger of their partial relapse into heathenism, it may become my absolute duty to entertain and receive their continued application.'

About 2,000 Karens were eventually received into the Church of England. With regard to the King of Burma later on having changed in his treatment of the mission at Mandalay, 'Put not your trust in princes,' the Bishop wrote, 'is a saying older than the Burmese monarchy. I believe the mission will do better in its natural state. To use the modern style, the upas tree of royal protection being cut down, the plant under it comes out into the healthy light of day, and will probably thrive all the better.'

CHAPTER XIX.

1873.

Visitation of Central India—Chikulda—Conference of Indian Bishops at Nagpore—Extracts from letters on increase of Episcopate and Missionary Bishops.

THE cares of his large and overwhelming diocese did not allow the Bishop to remain at Calcutta. After a sea voyage of about 900 miles from Rangoon, he could give only two days to meetings, work and letters, before again starting up country, a journey of two nights and a day without stopping.

He visited part of Oudh, and then proceeded by Agra to Central India. The railways were more complete than in his former tour in 1869, but there was still much disagreeable travelling after he left Morar, as he traversed the country to the different stations in the Central Provinces.

Several places were visited this year which he had not been able to reach before. He went by bullock-coach from Nagpore to Raipore and back, a distance of 360 miles, and returned on the eighth day, having consecrated two churches, Raipore and Bundhara, and two cemeteries. The Sunday was spent at Raipore, and he halted on this journey twice only in the twenty-four hours, for two hours at a time for his meals.

Another expedition was to Chikulda to visit a house and estate which had been bought of the widow of a Mr. Mulheran, who had endeavoured to start a mission and then died. The estate had been bought for the purpose of founding a mission among the Gonds, one of the numerous hill tribes, on the same

principle as that which had worked so well among the Kols in Chota Nagpore.

Chikulda is 3,700 feet above the sea, on a fine plateau, and a very healthy place, therefore well adapted for mission purposes. On the Mulheran estate there was a good house, a smaller school house, and a village of forty houses, occupied by an intelligent people, ready, it was thought, when instructed to follow their teachers, and to become Christians.

Two brothers had charge of the mission, one a layman who managed the farm, and lived at Chikulda. The other now lives at Ellichpore, twenty miles distant, but among the same tribe of Gonds, and acts as chaplain also to the few residents there.

Chikulda is an out-of-the-way place, and after the Bishop and his chaplain had gone as far as they could on trollies on the railway line, they rode on artillery horses fifty miles with three changes of horses, and were eight hours in the saddle, before they reached their destination.

They returned to Nagpore on November 22, where the Bishop of Bombay arrived the same day.

The chief business to be transacted at Nagpore was a conference between the three Indian Bishops, in which the most important question to be discussed was the increase of the Indian episcopate.

Bishop Wilson had tried in vain to establish a See at Agra for the North-West Provinces and the Punjab. Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1864, with Bishop Cotton's approval, had prepared a bill for the foundation of a Punjab bishopric, but it was withdrawn.

In 1871 an enabling bill to form new dioceses was drawn up at the suggestion of Bishop Milman, but it was never brought into Parliament. In that same year, on the expected retirement of Archdeacon Pratt, then Archdeacon of Calcutta, the Bishop had proposed, both to the Secretary of State and to the Viceroy, that provision should be made for a bishopric of Lahore by a readjustment of the salary and allowances attached to the

Archdeacon's office, which with some addition from private sources would make a sufficient endowment, with no further burden to the State. After the Archdeacon's death, before his successor was appointed in 1872, he had again urged this on the Government, but in vain.

In September of this year, 1873, the Bishop had learnt to his great surprise that, without any previous consultation with himself, a proposal had been made and sanctioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that coadjutor bishops, to be 'episcopal commissaries' in India, should be consecrated in England and sent out to Madras.

The Bishop was in the midst of a trying and laborious tour, but he took immediate action, and wrote to England to refuse (if, as he said, he had the power to refuse) his consent to the scheme, and requested that time might be given for deliberation and counsel with the other bishops of the Province and with the Government.

He then wrote to take counsel with the Bishop of Bombay, the Viceroy, and an eminent member of the bar in Calcutta. The latter expressed serious doubts as to the soundness of the legal opinion which had been obtained and sent out by the S. P. G. and the S. P. C. K., and on which the Bishop of Madras, at the suggestion of the C. M. S., was desirous of acting. This conference was, therefore, proposed, the three Bishops agreeing to meet at Nagpore, a place in a central position.

The meeting had been arranged for the 27th and 28th of November, and was to have begun with a celebration of the Holy Communion in Nagpore church. The Bishop of Madras, however, arrived a day earlier than the date fixed, and the Metropolitan, who was then at Kamptee, a large military cantonment, ten miles from Nagpore, hearing that the Bishop of Madras had arrived and could not stay for the 28th, returned at once to Nagpore, and the conference began on the 26th.

Only once before, in the episcopate of Bishop Cotton, at

Bombay had the three Indian Bishops met for consultation, and the pastoral letter which they then issued to the Church at home had had, it was believed, a considerable effect in stirring up missionary interest in India.

On this occasion the Bishops, attended by their chaplains, met in a room of the 'Bishop's school,' at Nagpore. After the conference had been opened with prayer, all took their seats round a circular table, and the proceedings began by the Metropolitan reading a letter, which had been received by him some time before from the two societies, the S. P. G. and the S. P. C. K. This letter contained the opinion which has been referred to, signed by Dr. Parker Deane, Sir R. Baggally and Mr. B. Shaw. It suggested, as has been already intimated, a novel way of meeting the difficulty in increasing the episcopate, viz., that the Archbishop of Canterbury should, with license from the Crown, consecrate 'episcopal commissaries' to assist the Indian Bishops as might be required.

After some discussion it was agreed that each Bishop should put his thoughts on paper, and that they should on the next morning compare notes. The Metropolitan then reported that he had been in communication with the C. M. S. on the subject of the consecration of mission churches, and it was unanimously resolved that wherever a building was used regularly as a church for Europeans, and wherever a mission church was of a substantial and permanent character, and when there was a reasonable probability of a permanent ministry, the building should receive a solemn dedication to the service of Almighty God, according to the practice of the Church of England. Other subjects were discussed before the day closed.

The next day the Bishops of Calcutta and Bombay read papers which they had prepared, embodying their objections to the course proposed by the English counsel. The Bishop of Madras said that he had not had time to write a paper himself, but gave a general assent to the principle laid down by his brethren, and later in the day the draft of a proposed letter

to the societies was read, embodying the resolution carried.[1] The Bishop of Madras signed it, but added a note stating that he did not withdraw his nomination of the two missionaries to be episcopal commissaries, as he considered the circumstances of their appointment to be exceptional.

Finally however, as the Metropolitan of India still persevered in refusing his sanction to the proposed course, the Bishop of Madras wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to withdraw his nomination, in order that time might be given to reconsider the whole question in India and at home.

The difference in figure and character between the three prominent actors in this conference at Nagpore must have struck any thoughtful observer, and it is strange that the one who looked most frail and delicate in health should alone survive. The learning and profound thought of Bishop Milman, the clear perception and practical power of Bishop Douglas, and the conciliatory character and affectionate sympathy of the Bishop of Madras, were all gifts which the Indian Church needed, and which were freely used in her service. Men of very diverse character, they yet agreed substantially on the many subjects which they discussed, and the conference was certainly instrumental in bringing about a greater unity of feeling and action between the three Dioceses. To the Bishop of Madras was consigned the task of drafting an address to the Church at home from the Indian Bishops, and an excellent pastoral letter was accordingly despatched to England, which has reached a large circulation. After the conference was over on the 27th the Bishop of Madras left Nagpore, the Bishop of Bombay remaining over December 3, which had been appointed as the day of Intercession for Missions.

It will be well to break the chronological order here, and give some extracts from the Bishop's letters later on, bearing on the subject of the Indian episcopate. These letters are numerous and long, extending over the years 1874 and 1875,

[1] For the Resolutions passed, see Appendix A.

until it was finally settled that Suffragan Bishops should be appointed in the Indian dioceses, under similar conditions and with the same powers and jurisdiction as are conferred upon such Bishops by the Act 26 Henry VIII. cap. 14, a course which seemed all the more feasible, as under this Act, though it had been long in abeyance, such suffragans had been recently appointed in one or more dioceses in England.

Before, however, passing on to the extracts from the correspondence, which will show how this compromise was arrived at, the importance of the subject renders it desirable that it should be clearly understood that Bishop Milman acquiesced in it only as the best practical solution of the difficulties which seemed to stand in the way of a more regular increase of the Indian Episcopate.

From the letters it appears plainly that had it been possible, he would have preferred that there should be a proper legal canonical division of the Indian dioceses, and that new sees should be called into existence by the co-operation of all the same authorities which constituted the original dioceses, viz.: the Crown, Parliament, and the Indian Government acting in concert with the Home and Indian Episcopates; only he would have had the endowments provided by private liberality. He had in fact made more than one attempt to get the Act, which would have been necessary in order to carry out this scheme, introduced into Parliament. It will further appear that the one plan for the extension of the Indian episcopate to which he felt bound in conscience to offer a resolute and unswerving resistance, was the plan proposed by the two great missionary societies in England, viz.: to procure the appointment and consecration of sectional bishops, *i.e.* bishops who should govern one portion of the clergy in a certain district, but not another portion,—who should rule the C. M. S. missionaries in a town, but know nothing of the doings of the S. P. G. missionaries in the same place, or *vice versâ*.

Bishops such as these would occupy a position and exercise a

jurisdiction without precedent in the whole course of ecclesiastical history; whose anomalous status, as Bishop Milman insists repeatedly and with great force, would inevitably give rise to complications, not to say scandals, which would more than counteract any good which could come of their appointment; and whose proposed position commended itself as little to the acuteness of distinguished statesmen, and to the common sense of laymen of average intelligence, native as well as English, as it did to the shrewdness, the calm reason and sense of ecclesiastical propriety of Bishop Milman himself.

In December he wrote from Jubbulpore, 'The Bishop of Madras has kindly suspended his request to the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate two new Bishops for Tinnivelly, till we can see whether some better plan cannot be adopted, and whether our whole course of action, and with it the edification of the Church in India, may not be freed from the legal impediments and shackles which seem at present to hamper us.

'It is very desirable, especially in India, that our legal way should be clear, and all future conflicts of jurisdiction, etc., be rendered (as far as may be) improbable, if not impossible. I have hitherto heard only one opinion as to the inexpedience of making two Bishops, one for S. P. G. and one for C. M. S. in an intermingling territory, and with one race of people not amounting to 70,000 Christians in all in that territory.

'I am very anxious, as you are aware, for an increase of our Episcopate, both for missionary purposes and the administration of this country generally, but I want (to speak plainly) real independent Bishops, and a plan on which we may expect God's blessing to rest, not a makeshift for the moment only. I trust that the prayer of God's people may be heard for us. We need much intercession; the difficulties are many, and the darkness great.'

To the Bishop of Bombay: 'As to the proposal, that the senior missionaries of the two societies should be nominated Bishops, the one to hold jurisdiction over the S. P. G. clergy

and their flocks, the other over the C. M. S. clergy and their flocks, I must say I have heard only one expression of opinion, viz. reprobation. It seems to me to come of evil, and to be sure to lead to evil. I cannot think that it would have God's blessing.

'Lord Northbrook, who is an earnest and religious man, took the same view of the evil of two Bishops in one See that we did. It is satisfactory to see common sense and statesmanship agree with our ecclesiastical ideas.

'I am writing to propose the introduction of an Emancipating Bill, to enable us to carry out the formation of new dioceses and the reconstruction of boundaries, and so legally declare that we have power of consecration; and I am doing this on the basis of the bill drawn up in 1871, but never introduced into Parliament. . . .

'With respect to missions and missionary bishops, the question is much more complicated with us than in the colonies. We have very few people like colonists. I suppose a few hundred planters would represent the whole English independent population, and the number is not likely to increase much.

'A missionary bishop in another Bishop's diocese seems to me an anomaly. His existence might lead possibly to dangerous disputes.

'Why missionary bishops in India should be necessary for a transition state, and as a preparation for native bishops, is not very evident. . . .

'I cannot approve of a bishop nominated by a society, or of making his endowment or rather salary dependent on the will of the committee of a society.

'The difficulties, even in a missionary point of view, are by no means insignificant. The English missionaries dislike the idea of a bishop who would have authority over them, and not over the chaplains beside them. The natives competent to express an opinion dislike the idea of a bishop who would be over them and not over Europeans, except the actual mission-

aries. It would have a tendency also to make the native Christians a caste, which idea is even now dangerously at work, preventing the extension of Christianity.

'I have thought that, with a view to the future of a Native Church, we might, when any bishop is to be made or any diocese constituted, call on the missionaries and clergy of that district to assemble under the presidency of the Bishop of the diocese, to elect some one of the native or English clergy (the presiding Bishop having a veto). Would not this be in accordance with primitive practice as far as it is known? The bishop elect might then be presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Bishop of the diocese, with the Metropolitan's consent. Thus the election would prepare the way for future election of native bishops, when the time is ripe.

'My feeling is that we are organising at this time the Church of the future; and most desirous as I am for such an enlargement of the Episcopate as we have in view, I feel that great caution is necessary. It has always seemed to me, that the South African difficulties were owing to rather precipitate action in the beginning, and a want of a clearly legal determination of the Bishop of Capetown's status.

'I am anxious, most anxious, for a development of the Church organisation, if it can be had in a shape agreeable to Church order, and capable of the Divine blessing.'

He thought it most unfortunate that the C. M. S. could not see the evil of their objecting to territorial arrangements.

'It is not that a territorial area is of itself an absolute necessity, but it implies that men shall not be divided according to societies, and this division is what the C. M. S. appear to insist on. Such division will not be obliterated, but on the contrary will be more conspicuous if a Bishop is put at the head of each division; and it will be likely to gender a future schism, if continued persistently among the native Christians, inclined as they are to jealousy and imbued with party spirit. It seems also by universal consent wrong in itself, and unlikely therefore

to receive God's blessing. It is contrary to the spirit of love, 'savouring the things which be of men,' as well as opposed to all precedents and principles of Church government.'

After two or three different plans had been discussed and abandoned, and after much deliberation and counsel both in India and in England, it was, as has been already intimated, decided that the Act of Henry VIII. which gives power to Bishops in England to appoint Suffragans might easily be made applicable to India, and that thus Indian Bishops would have power to nominate their own Suffragans, and to make their own arrangements as to the territory, work, and salary of such Suffragans, and to assign to them a title from some town within the diocese for which they should be consecrated.

Again the Bishop writes: 'The appointment of the work should be left absolutely to the discretion of the diocesan Bishop. This seems to me necessary, to guard against the principle of doing evil that good may come.'

He had wished, he said, to have new dioceses made, like Madras and Bombay (though with private provision for the diocesans), but failing this he would consent to this plan of Suffragan Bishops.

He suggested Palamcotta and Edyen Goody as having a 'pleasant Oriental sound for titles for Madras Suffragans.'

'One advantage of this regulated freedom of action will be that native clergy may be consecrated bishops and become suffragans (in the same sense of the word) when obtainable and desirable without any further arrangement, and complications and difficulties which have arisen and which continually arise from the wording of patents and Acts of Parliament will be avoided.'

In November 1875, in writing home he again says, 'My wish had been to have new and legal dioceses constituted on the usual footing, and for this I was most anxious and worked hard. As this cannot be, I believe our *δεύτερος πλοῦς* is to have suffragan bishops whom practically we can make diocesan

bishops, assuming some endowment can be obtained. Bishop Gell proposes two veteran missionaries. I would rather have new men myself, or at least not be limited in the choice. Hence, in this way the Punjab or Burma might be constituted in fact as separate dioceses.

'I shall hope soon to avail myself of the power to appoint suffragans for the division of my overwhelming diocese, and the furtherance of missionary enterprise. The average percentage of increase of converts in North India exceeding, I believe, that of South India, although the number of Christians is not yet equal, makes the object especially desirable to me.

'In any action which may be taken under the Act of Henry VIII., the question may arise, who is the Archbishop of the province? India is not in the province of Canterbury, though Bishops of Calcutta promise and vow obedience to Canterbury; on the other hand, the Bishop of Calcutta is the Metropolitan of India and the Island of Ceylon, but he is not titularly an archbishop. The licence from the Queen directing the consecration of Suffragan Bishops in India should be addressed to the Metropolitan of India and the Island of Ceylon. This would be an alteration of the wording, but not of the meaning of the clause of the existing Act, and necessary under the circumstances.'

The two missionaries who had been selected by the Bishop of Madras were Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Sargent, of whom Bishop Milman wrote, 'Their long experience, linguistic attainments, tried ability, sound faith, and earnest devotion give every reason to hope that if God's blessing is with them, no men are more likely to assist in the formation of that great Church which we hope hereafter to behold in India.'

They were to have been consecrated suffragan bishops in April under the Act of Henry VIII., before Bishop Milman went to England. His unexpected death delayed the ceremony for some months, but they were eventually consecrated at Calcutta in 1877.

CHAPTER XX.

1873.

Visit to Chanda—Panchmari—Jubbulpore—Letter home—Christmas Day—Conclusion of tour in Central India—Allahabad—Letter to Primus of Scotland—To the Board of Missions in America—To a chaplain—Calcutta work—Consecration of church at Kistapore—Taljhari—Lady Canning memorial—Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury on the Syrian Church—Letter in 1874 on the same subject—Rev. S. W. O'Neil at Calcutta—Mission manual—Non-observance of Sunday—Letters of counsel.

AFTER the conference at Nagpore, the Bishop continued his visitation. He went to Chanda, where the Rev. Nehemiah Goreh, a native clergyman, had charge of a small mission among the Mhars, and after his work was finished rode on an elephant through the town. 'It is a pretty place, of some 18,000 inhabitants. There are curious tombs, and the remains of a palace of the old Chanda rajahs. Beyond them we entered into a fine grove of mangoes, and then one of tamarinds: very beautiful forest scenery. We came then to the ghat where the 'monoliths' lie. These are very curious monuments, half Shaivite, half Vaishnivite, each cut out of a single block. There is the figure of Kali or Durga with ten heads, the Lingam[1] in the centre on a platform, the tortoise, fish, and boars, avatars of Vishnu. The stone is dark-coloured, and each piece is monolithic. They are said to have been once erect, but look too thin ever to have remained standing by themselves; they seem as if intended to be ornamental portions of

[1] Emblem of Mahádeva.

some large temple. They are of large size and well carved. Lying as they do on the grass—

Under the shade of melancholy boughs,

the effect is striking and solemn.'

After visiting several small stations the Bishop went to Panchmari, a new hill sanitarium for that part of India, to consecrate a cemetery. It is on a high plateau of about twenty-five square miles, 'the west end is like an enormous park, with finer trees than elsewhere, and grand rocky hills and ridges.'

After spending a day there, he continued his journey, first on an elephant, and then walking, by 'the Chaura Garh, a wonderful square mountain, visiting the great waterfalls on the way. There were magnificent precipices 700 or 800 feet high, a great double leap with the strangest rifts between the rocks, at the bottom of which the rivers wound invisibly, save for a white gleam here and there far down the deep glens. The views of the mountains, and of the plains or valleys beyond, were exceedingly beautiful.

'We came to the Mahadev Glen, the deep glen under the Mahadev mountain. This was a singularly lovely spot: a long low cavern at the end, out of which the stream flowed cold and clear. At the end of the cave was a Lingam, and some uncouth accompaniments. The stream scrambled through rocks, or spread out in pools shadowed by very fine and tall mango trees, whose deep green shade contrasted finely with the red and strangely coloured rocks which shut in the glen on every side. Behind was the great precipice of the Mahadev hill, and further down another great rock buttressing the hill.

'In front was the rock of sacrifice, down which the lads precipitated themselves; forms of Shiva, and tridents and other emblems, roughly shaped in stone, peering amid the trees marking where the bodies fell.

'There were turf couches and stone boulder seats under

the shade. A few wild Jogis[2] in some dirty huts suited or marred the scene, according to the humour you were in. One old fellow lived at the entrance of the cave, and was an old friend of Captain Hallett, the Deputy Commissioner, who was with us. The others looked the usual begging impostors which he pronounced them to be.

'We rode about five miles on the elephants, and then walked eight or nine to our halting-place, a pretty spot under fine trees.

'Here other elephants which had been sent forward took us on their backs, and we had a long ride of eighteen miles to Motoris. It was quite dark before we arrived at the bungalow. Here we dined, and then leaving Captain Hallett we went on in palkis at night to Chundwara.

From Chundwara he went to Seoni and thence to Jubbulpore, which he reached on the 24th.

To consecrate four cemeteries and hold confirmations had been the object of this difficult and trying journey, during which, since he left Nagpore on the 12th, he had not more than two or three nights in bed. Yet even thus he could enjoy the beautiful scenery that came in his way, and find time to write such a description as that given of the Mahadev Glen.

At Jubbulpore he chose 'News of Revelation' as his subject for a lecture to the educated natives.

On the Sunday he preached at two English services, and again in Hindustani at the native service, when 'a Mahomedan convert was baptised, a respectable and educated man. It was an interesting sight. Converts have indeed much to endure still in India, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, of high or low caste.'

Jubbulpore, though a large station, had at that time no chaplain, and the Bishop was unable to provide one. 'Mr. Thomas, an excellent sub-deacon, was of great service in the station.'

[2] Fakirs or devotees.

The Bishop wrote home from this place, 'I have had some hardish travelling lately, but remain, thank God, strong though at times weary. I have had to ride fifty miles, and to walk ten or twelve, and can still do so without discomfort. The correspondence which must be carried on during my tour is the worst part about the matter. . . . I have had some little disquietude about the increase of our Episcopate question. The proposed plan took a shape of which I could not altogether approve, and I have had to put a spoke in a wheel, whose motion I would fain have accelerated, because of the form which the movement had assumed. The two societies, C. M. S. and S. P. G., were to nominate and support each a Bishop for Tinnevelly, who was to be consecrated on the Queen's licence by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to be paid by the societies during good behaviour, as coadjutor bishops to the Bishop of Madras.

'These curious "bishoplings" are not much to be desired, and the want of an assigned territory seems contrary to precedent. That their support should be dependent on a missionary committee is a still worse objection. However, I hope that we may be able to get the whole matter into a good shape eventually. I should be sorry if we have any messes or muddles arising from precipitate action. In India it is desirable that our way should be quite clear.

'There seems something of a lull in the controversial tempest at home. I hope everything may settle quietly down, and the life and devotion remain, when the husks and shell have dropped off.

'Christmas Day reminds me of times gone by, and ancient gatherings and family assemblies. You realise them to some extent in your children, and in the services and works of the season. Here especially, being on tour, and with no relative or friend, the sensation is saddening, except so far as it projects me into the thought and hope of the future, and final and abiding reunion in Him from whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. I wish at such a season that I could see some

of you, and revolve the past with you. However, God's will and work be done, as far as in us lies.'

In his journal he had entered 'Christmas Day. Rather solitary and melancholy in India, away even from my Calcutta home. *Fiat voluntas.*'

But his labour on this tour was not yet over, for Sutna and Nowgong were visited before he reached Banda, where an S. P. G. mission had been opened. 'The town has some 25,000 inhabitants but is diminishing,' he wrote, 'since the confiscation of the Banda Raj. The people seem rather bigoted, and the mission work will be difficult.'

It was the Epiphany, and there was service for the English residents, and then a native confirmation. 'A Mahomedan convert arrived after the conclusion of the service. He had a long way to come. He is one who has had an immense amount of persecution to endure, and spoke of his trials in a very touching and even heart-rending way. He was baptised by Mr. Hill, and I confirmed him, at his and Hill's earnest request. May Christ have mercy upon him and support him.'

'In the evening I made an English address to the educated natives, my subject the same as at Nagpore, "Prevention better than cure," alluding to Bacon's saying, to the famine precautions, etc., and applying the proverb to spiritual matters. I left the same night.'

Allahabad, which the Bishop reached the following afternoon, would not have been visited in the usual course till the autumn, but there were several candidates for priest's orders and two native readers for the diaconate, besides a large number of English and natives ready for confirmation. The Bishop therefore remained four days, conducting the examination for the ordination himself, and addressing the candidates each day at the close of the examination.

On the Sunday, after preaching at the soldiers' service early in the morning in a crowded room, he held the ordination of the two deacons in Hindi, in the station church, and when that

was concluded he began the ordination of priests in English. In the evening he preached again at Trinity Church.

The next morning he went to Benares, for a native confirmation of 65 candidates and also for an English one, and he concludes his account of this visitation by saying 'We left Benares at night, and after a rather laborious tour, with a rather laborious finale, we found ourselves in Calcutta on Wednesday morning, January 14, 1874, at 10.30 P.M. *Laus Deo.*'

When the Bishop was at Gwalior on this tour he had paid a visit one evening to the Maharajah Scindia in his new palace, and drove through the Lashkar to see the Diwali.[3] 'The buildings were beautifully illuminated, and the people very orderly. This Lakshmi festival is a pretty and innocent one in appearance; but the *puja* and the worship of a rupee, and the gambling in honour of the goddess, give the mingling of pollution which is in all idolatrous festivals, besides the idolatry itself.'

At Indore he wrote, 'Madhava Rao (my Travancore friend) came to see me, and we had some interesting conversation. He is now Holkar's prime agent, and with Mr. Carey, the engineer, is civilising and benefiting the territory. I paid the Maharajah Holkar a visit in Madhava's house by the Lal Bagh, where were two fine lion cubs. The political resident and Messrs. Jacob and Davis accompanied me. Holkar is a large, stout, rather fine-looking man. His manner is good. He works hard, and talks pleasantly.'

The mission work was still very limited in the Central Provinces. After the Bishop had been at Chanda he wrote to the Primus of Scotland: 'As the Church in Scotland has taken an interest in our missionary work, and has to some extent taken charge of the mission in the Central Provinces, especially of the Chanda mission, it seems right, as I have been visiting these missions and the extensive regions in which they are settled, that I should send word of the results of my examination to you, and through you to the Church over which you preside. I have been

[3] A Hindu festival.

at Chanda itself, which is a very pretty town of 18,000 inhabitants. It is the head-quarters of the Rev. Nehemiah Goreh. I there confirmed eight candidates, converts to the Christian faith from among the Mhar caste. The little mission chapel was very full. Many respectable heathen came to see, and showed considerable interest in the proceeding. The service was in Hindi, as the Mahrati-speaking people mostly are acquainted with Hindi, while the reverse is not the case. The candidates seemed very devout and attentive. They are the first-fruits of the mission. . . . I should be very thankful if the mission could be developed further under the auspices of the Church of Scotland. I cannot help thinking that, except where there are actual English colonies, the Church and its mission work in India have the first claim on home help. The numbers, the character, the dependent position relative to Britain of the native population, give it a predominant demand on our sympathy and assistance. Perhaps the abundance of your countrymen here appeals pre-eminently to Scotland.

'We are at an anxious point in the spiritual history of India. There is a curious revival of Buddhism, of Brahminism in its various shapes, and of Mahomedanism in its different sects, in this country little known and less mentioned, but as I have seen, and as I have heard from men best informed in divers localities, very real and extensive.

'We have fields attractive to the learned, the metaphysician, the simple earnest preacher. We are to a great extent a part of England. There is room for every talent and every energy. There is an especially open field where your mission, if I may call it so, is localised.'

In his journal on this visitation he wrote, 'There seems a good opening here for mission work. Alas for our lack of men, and lack of mission spirit in England, especially with regard to India! It is *heart-breaking*.' The same expression he had made use of in a letter home at the beginning of 1873.

Finding so little answer to his petitions for help from

England he turned to America, and sent an appeal to the Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church in the United States. 'I have long experienced,' he wrote, 'a strong desire to appeal to the Church in America in behalf of the mission work in my diocese and province. A letter from the Rev. J. Long, an old and dear friend who has recently visited America, has encouraged me now to carry out my intention. The future of the world also is so much to all appearance in the hands of America, that I feel myself bound to make no longer delay.

'The missionary needs of India, the vast number of its teeming and intellectual population, the interesting and various character of the work which should be carried on among them, ought to be laid by me before your board of missions. I am fully aware of the claims, and the extent, and the extreme importance of your home mission work. I have felt deep interest in its growth and prosperity. The addition, however, of foreign mission work would not interfere with its success. On the contrary, it would strengthen and foster it.

'Many of the various Christian bodies in America are powerfully represented and diligently at work in India. But your Church, that in communion with our own, able and energetic as it is, has no representative here, nor has it hitherto given us any assistance. Your missionaries are perhaps especially suited to India, as having a peculiar power of adaptation to circumstances, of sympathy, and of organisation.

'Should you be moved by God's spirit to give us your valuable aid, I would venture to suggest that some men in holy orders, or desirous of them, with teachers for schools, if only three or four, should be sent to us, who would at first take part in missions already at work, where there is a pressing need of assistance, and where they might learn the languages.

'After more study and experience, some special field with a complete Church organisation might be undertaken by you, or you might give us such larger assistance as you might think most advisable. American ladies also might give us

their aid, so valuable among the Christian societies already at work.

'I will only add that I thus repeat across the broader Pacific Ocean the sounds which, heard only in dreams, drew an apostle over the Ægean, to be the great instrument of the conversion of Europe: "Come over and help us." Can you kindly present this my petition to your convention when assembled in the name of the Lord Jesus?'

The Bishop was most anxious that all should feel as deeply as he did himself, and especially that the chaplains should feel the great responsibility laid upon all in India, with regard to the people and their conversion, and he wrote to one about the mission at his station, 'I must ask you for Christ's sake to throw your interest and sympathy into this work. You are before Christ as responsible for the heathen round about you as you are for the British soldiers. There is no evading this accountability by anyone who undertakes an Indian chaplaincy. I felt it in my own person, even terribly when I accepted the bishopric, most reluctantly, God is witness. You will find that working up, and working with your mission committee will be a real help and assistance to your English work, in which may God bless and prosper you more and more.'

On his arrival at Calcutta in January the Bishop had found his sister returned from England. With her had come also a sister's son, whom the Bishop gladly welcomed to his home. It is touching to read in his letters to England how his heart seemed to yearn for his relations, how minute he was in his remembrances and enquiries after his brother's and sister's children. Yet still when he found that he was excepted from the operation of the new episcopal furlough rules he could write, 'I am patient in these matters.'

He entered at once into the full Calcutta work. At one Bengali confirmation he described 'the congregation as very large, filling the church to overflowing. The service was mostly choral, and the singing good.'

Through the energy of the Rev. J. Vaughan, a church with a school, and parsonage for a native pastor, had been built for Kistapore and Terulia, villages about twelve miles from Calcutta, and the Bishop went down to consecrate it, the service having been in some degree altered by agreement with the secretary, the Rev. J. Welland, on behalf of the C. M. S. Another visit was also paid to Taljhari among the Santhals, where he found the mission still making progress, though he said, 'I missed, and the mission misses W. Storrs much. The four missionaries, however, seem devoted to their work.'

Several years had elapsed since the death of Lady Canning, and no practical use had yet been made of the moneys raised for a memorial. After legal steps had been taken, by the Bishop's advice, to place the fund under the management of proper trustees, he proposed that a home should be built, and suitable training for nurses be provided in connection with an institution already in existence, and that ladies trained in all the requirements of hospital nursing should be brought out from England to instruct the nurses.

The Bishop's scheme included the provision of nurses for Calcutta, as well as for the hospital, but at first it was limited to the hospital. It was with this view that he wished for sisters to come out to Calcutta to undertake the charge. A suitable site, adjoining the General Hospital, was given by the Government, and the Bishop made an urgent appeal for help to build the house, that the memorial fund might be left for the maintenance of the staff.

Sufficient funds were raised, the building was erected, ladies were brought out from England, and the 'Lady Canning Home,' will prove not only a memorial to one so beloved, but also a boon to our sick countrymen in a foreign land, by giving them good and efficient nurses.

As if the care of all the Churches in his own vast diocese was not enough, inquiries as to his opinion with regard to the ancient Syrian Church and its Metrans, were made to him from home.

On his metropolitan tour in 1870 in the diocese of Madras, he had visited some of the Syrian churches, and their Metrans and Catanars, had investigated the claims of the rival Metrans, and had come to the conclusion that 'questions of reform and improvement, or of stagnation and superstition, seemed mingled with the question of legitimate possession; that Athanasius was apparently inclined to reform and improve; while Dionysius headed the party of stagnation and "*non possumus*;" and that (in his opinion) Mar Athanasius was the rightful Metran.'

In a letter, written from Calcutta to the Archbishop of Canterbury in answer to the inquiries made to him, he gives a curious account of this old branch of the Primitive Church. After explaining that the delay in answering the inquiries was caused by his having written to the Bishop of Madras to ask if any new occurrence had taken place which might alter his views, he continues: 'I went on a previous occasion into the question as fully as possible, in agreement with the English Resident, Mr. Ballard, and the Travancore Government, who had to investigate the matter on a question of property, and also with the English missionaries. I came to the conclusion that Mar Athanasius ought to be acknowledged. There was no doubt of his election, appointment, and consecration, by the then Jacobite patriarch at Mardin. Afterwards, Mar Dionysius went to Mardin, and apparently without any investigation, or any taking of evidence, entirely without any examination in Travancore itself, obtained from the present patriarch at Mardin the deposition of Mar Athanasius, and his own consecration.

'Having, in Mr. Hough's dull but valuable book, and in such other authors as I could find, examined into the history of the Syrian Church in India, nothing I think is plainer than that the continual and almost ludicrous schisms which have rent it during all its known history, have been especially owing to the practice of appeals to, and consecrations by, the distant patriarchs (sometimes Nestorian, sometimes Jacobite) who claimed authority over the Syrian Church in India.

'Unscrupulous calumny and reckless bribery have marked these appeals, and the consequent judgments, by their distant patriarchs, for some centuries. The Syrian Church, therefore, in India, has been most seriously injured and disgraced by constant dissensions. The complete temporary success of Archbishop Menezes was owing in a great measure to them; and the considerable body of Romo-Syrians who still remain divided from the old Syrian Church, is naturally supported by this unhappy strife among those from whom they are now separated.

'The numbers, as given in the Trevandrum (native Hindu) almanac, are about 160,000 for the Romo, 300,000 for the old Syrians, and the extent of the consequences of schism is plain, even if these numbers are exaggerated.

'The appeal made to your Grace may, under God's mercy, result in the healing or diminution of these unfortunate dissensions in the Syrian Church in India. I agree with the Bishop of Madras in thinking it advisable that a double commission should be organised, to obtain all possible information to be laid before your Grace.

'I believe with him that the result may be of great benefit to the Syrian Christians in India. A large body of the Catanars (clergy) and laity are desirous of useful reforms, elimination of the superstitious heretical elements contained in their books, and involved in their practices; and the shape which the present division has taken implies a desire of real reformation on the part of Mar Athanasius, and a blind adherence to antiquity on the part of Mar Dionysius. There are many promising points in the character and reputation of the great body among these Christians, and there seemed a real desire of improvement among the Catanars, some of whom were making a considerable progress in theological acquirements, knowledge of Holy Scripture, and preaching ability. If, therefore, your Grace can in any way assist in restoring peace and unity to this interesting body of Christians, in eliminating the doctrinal errors which

remain among them, and the practical deficiencies which now keep them back, you will confer a great benefit on the Christian Church in India, and help forward the progress and development of Christ's kingdom.'

In another letter he describes 'the system of Eastern intrigue which the appeals to Mardin have nourished in time past. It is difficult for a European to realise the extent, complicity, and subtlety of the plots and schemes which our Eastern brethren really delight in, and which is one of our great difficulties. The history of the poor Syrian Church is a sad narrative of a long series of such intrigues, and the dissensions resulting from them, and the use which Rome made of them.

'That it retained its vitality, and nourished much quiet Christian life in the midst of them is a wonder of grace. There is a spring of life, which if it can only be freed from these obstacles may pour forth abundant and fertilising streams both in the priesthood and people of its communion. . . .'

The next letter on this subject was not written till December 1874, but is inserted here.

'Relative to the Jacobite patriarch of Mardin, I rather agree with Professor Bright that he is not historically the true patriarch of Antioch. Neither can I understand the full acquittal from heresy which Mr. Badger and others proclaim and reiterate. But they have, perhaps, fuller and more recent utterances than I am in possession of; or perhaps the venerable Oriental has been too much for Western simplicity.

'I only speak of the relation between *our* Syrians and Mardin which has been, in my view, demonstrably mischievous. Again, they have said that the Metran named by the Mardin patriarch has the general approval of the diocese in India, which is (or was lately) the direct reverse of the fact. He was a mere adventurer, who managed to get a small following, and had a small party trading chiefly on objections to all reformation and improvement.

'The true Metran, Athanasius, was not of a very high character (though I think better than the other), but took a little objurgation (humbly administered, but very plain) extremely well, and mended his ways, I believe, permanently. I did not know, but should rather have guessed, that both Rome and Greece take the same view of the lawfulness of the claims of the respective patriarchs of Antioch which I take. Surely it is plainly the historical one, but I have no leisure or books to make a complete case. Bright's declaration, however, gives my view of it.'

The Bishop was disappointed when he learnt that the Rev. F. Benson, the Superior of the Cowley Brothers, could not come out to India. 'It is impossible,' he wrote to him, 'to see India without a stir of heart. The number of the population and their character are unusually attractive and awakening.' He welcomed one of the brothers, the Rev. S. W. O'Neil, who came to Calcutta, and invited the Rev. Nehemiah Goreh to meet him at the Palace. Mr. Goreh afterwards joined the brotherhood. The Bishop was most anxious that 'they should keep to the distinct object of the mission to the heathen, and the formation of a brotherhood for that purpose, which was settled,' he wrote, 'long ago, in conversation and correspondence with Benson.' He looked for Christian missionary success from their mission work, for which they had anxiously been waited for in the diocese. 'A place on the railway, with good openings in a central situation of average healthiness, where communication would be easy with other parts of India, that seemed the conditions as to situation desired by O'Neil, and recommended by myself. I do not wish them to go to a pre-occupied field,' he wrote, 'but to inaugurate (to use that horrible word) a new mission requires singular patience and perseverance.'

The Rev. S. W. O'Neil first went to Patna, then to Delhi, and by the Bishop's direction to Indore.

Somewhat later the Bishop wrote: 'With regard to the little mission manual there are in it some superstitious expressions

about the sign of the Cross, which indicate one of the weaknesses of the present phase of belief, against which it is necessary to guard. The whole fuss about vestments and incense has too much of this character, and there is a distinctly *idolatrous* tendency in it (in my opinion) which mars much of the hope formed and the progress made, and threatens a retrograde movement both of Church progress and of the spiritual life. In settling in India it is very necessary that first principles should be re-considered. I have felt myself called to review almost every point of Church government, and even of Church doctrine, and every ecclesiastical practice, seriously and carefully in connection with our position here.'

The careless observance, or rather non-observance, of Sunday had been before a subject of remonstrance on the part of the Bishop, but this letter to the chairman of the Eastern Bengal Railway is very characteristic: 'It has been brought to my notice that there is a distressing neglect of the Lord's Day among the railway officials, a system of using it for shooting and pig-sticking, and other amusements, innocent in themselves, but very mischievous when they occupy the one day which should be used to lift the heart above the affairs of men, and employed at least in part for the worship of God, and the study of His holy Word. May I ask you if any remedy can be provided for this neglect? I bring it to your notice, and that of the managers, that if you can see your way to effect a change, you may exert your influence and authority in a kind and affectionate spirit. If I can do anything myself, I shall be glad if you could point out to me the most effective way of co-operation. I fear that the same unhappy carelessness concerning the Sunday and its blessings is to some extent too prevalent in Calcutta generally.'

Still more characteristic are the loving letters to a young friend who had opened his heart to him: 'I am very thankful that you have written to me as you have done. I fear that your narrative only gives a delineation of that of most young men at one period of their life. I scarcely know why, but I had an

impression that you had been thrown among a bad and dangerous set in London. But, my dear boy, do not be downcast or desponding. It is good to have a godly sorrow and a broken and contrite heart, but it is good also to remember that this is God's sacrifice, that He accepts it, and even delights in it. Till we have this sense of our need of forgiveness, we cannot value Christ as we ought; but when we begin to value, we learn also to love Him, and to understand His goodness, and how near He is to us. I am well aware of the present difficulties which surround you in the lack of the means of grace and ministerial help. I wish I could see my way to make a better arrangement for the place. I am most anxious to do so. In the meanwhile, let me recommend you to fix at once on a simple but steady rule of life. I mean, to have your rule of daily prayer, and daily Bible-reading, say Psalms and Lessons. Refuse everything which involves neglect of the Lord's Day. Never listen to blasphemy or evil conversation, but say at once that you do not like it, and must leave the room if it goes on. Do not attempt too much, but stick to your rule. It will be Christ's cross to you, and support you. Write to me occasionally with some regularity, and I will give you all the help that I can through letters. I wish I could talk over your heart with you, but that for some time will be impracticable. In the meanwhile remember that God shows His love for you by the stir of your heart and the conviction of your conscience. He is drawing you to Christ, and where He draws you, go. God bless you and keep you.'

Again, to the same: 'I was very glad to receive your letter, and to find that you had already (as indeed I surmised to be the case) begun and carried on the practices of which I made mention to you.

'The great principles (or principle) of Christianity, "Faith that worketh by love," are simple and plain in their practical application, though coming from the very heart of God. "The wayfaring man, though simple, shall not err therein." But

then the difficulty is to become wayfarers, to commit ourselves, that is, to God, like Abraham and all the Saints, and the Son of God Himself. I think by the mercy and love of Christ you have taken this step. He will open the way before you, and guide you in it.

'As to evil thoughts, resolute opposition, with prayer, and holy *occupation* when unoccupied in business, without over-anxiety and self-torment, are the wisest remedies. They will cease to haunt you when they cannot influence you. .

CHAPTER XXI.

1874.

Care taken on a visit to the Andamans—Hot weather—Letter home about the famine in Tirhoot—C. M. S. Mission at Goruckpore—Fakir Ahmed Ali Shah—Letters on eastward position—Confession—Confirmation before Communion—Parallel between Corinth and England—On using a sectarian building for service—Methodism—Bishops useful politically in the East as a bond of union between natives and Europeans—Bishops' Furlough Bill—Bishop Patteson's Life—Baptism of a Mahomedan convert.

IN March the Bishop went to the Andaman Islands, which he found in much better order than at his previous visit in 1870.

It was thought that there might be some danger from fanatics among the prisoners in the place where Lord Mayo was murdered, and orders were sent from Calcutta that precautions should be taken for the Bishop's safety during his visit. Two armed policemen followed him in consequence closely wherever he went. He said he did not feel like himself at all, with these men dogging his steps.

He returned to Calcutta for Holy Week and Easter, and then proceeded with his chaplain for a month's tour in Tirhoot, where famine had been apprehended, and where the relief works were then going on. This was in the middle of the hottest weather, and he wrote home, 'I am myself well and stout, by God's mercy, and able to bear up against the heat and dry wind, in which we have been travelling at this time of year. It is extremely hot, more like a Punjab hot wind or an Agra north-wester than a decent Bengali breeze; our officials rush about through it all in carriage or on horseback, and hitherto have

not suffered from it, notwithstanding the great labour the scarcity entails upon them.'

Later in another letter he said: 'The famine regions which I have traversed have at present a better looking population than other parts of India. There would have been a catastrophe had not Government come to help in time; now the danger is, lest help should be overdone and a permanent pauperism be introduced. I was rather amused with the *Spectator's* idea, that high caste women (equivalent to countesses) were at relief work. Many Brahmins and Rajpoots are labourers and mechanics; and it is something like saying, that because a Howard was at work, all the countesses and duchesses were at work too. Brahmins and Rajpoots need not be a bit more of aristocrats than persons named Howard or Percy. I thought the *Spectator* was wiser. I have had some roughish travelling lately, but am none the worse for it. . . . It was a great point, that time was taken by the forelock. When famine actually begins, the case is desperate, but it can be forestalled if enough time is allowed. In no case is it truer that "prevention is better than cure." . . .'

Later still he said: 'I am sorry to see over-reaction in the English papers, and among many who ought to know better here. I have been through the really endangered districts which, as I pointed out long ago, are from Mozufferpore to Goruckpore, so that I am not speaking without examination. There would have been a great catastrophe if Government had not made ample provision, but this being made and being sufficient, there has been no loss of life nor any dangerous distress. . . . All seems well ordered, but there are three or four months of some anxiety still remaining, and it must be remembered that famine catastrophes are sudden when they come, and that Government was right in insisting on the maintenance of precaution and provision. Lord Northbrook seems to me to have shown singularly good judgment and great powers of patience and of reticence under many misapprehensions.'

In his journal he mentioned 'the number of cretins with

large goitres, emaciated bodies and half-idiotic minds, at Bettiah, Motihari, and the neighbourhood. They present a painful and distressing appearance,' he said, 'and with the idea of famine prevalent, they look its very personification, and might certainly mislead "specials" into most sensational reports. I could not make out their number, or the percentage in the general population; they do not live in particular villages, but are scattered over the whole region.

'The goitre, as usual, is attributed to the water, but I could not discover on what ground. It is true that the rivers come from the Himalayas, and are swelled by the melting snows in their first rise, but the snows are too distant, I imagine, to give anything like snow water, to which cretinism is sometimes attributed. I believe also that this theory is exploded in the case of Alpine and other cretinism. It seems at any rate a question whether some special hospital or treatment ought not to be provided for these cretins, as also further west for the lepers, who are stated to be numerous north and north-west of Goruckpore.'

At this last place the C. M. S. mission was flourishing, 'the three schools and girls' orphanage in excellent order, though the number attending the schools was somewhat reduced by the relief works, at which boys and girls as well as grown people could earn money without much toil.'

On the Sunday at Goruckpore, the Bishop according to his usual practice, when there was a mission, was at both English and native services, morning and evening, preaching first in English then in Hindustani. In the middle of the day he went over to the Christian village at Baharatpore, and then finished the day's work with a tea and soirée of natives and English at the mission-house. At the native confirmation the church was crowded with native Christians, a few English, and several Mussulmans, and other heathen.

Ummicar Ali (clerk to the Collector) named the subject, which was 'Future Life,' for the lecture given at their own request to the educated natives. The Bishop prepared it as well as he could without books, and spoke for about an hour.

He described a visit paid to the Fakir Ahmed Ali Shah, at Goruckpore; 'the *Mir*, as they call him, who bears a very high character, believes in, but does not own to Christianity, and is very charitable, giving away fifty rupees a month. He has a *Jaghir*[1] from our Government, on which the *Sal* forest, through which we drove, stands. He has never left the place except to see his Jaghir, eats no meat, tastes no salt, and lives a celibate life. He is now seventy-five years old, and a great friend of the mission. The lives of himself and his predecessor have covered a period of 120 years since the grant of the house was made by some of the Oudh royal family. The part of the house where he sheltered some English during the Mutiny was shown me. I had some little interesting talk with him.'

The Bishop sums up the account of this tour with 'On the whole I think there seems an increase in the numbers at church, and a considerable increase of devotion in the stations which I have lately visited. Many laymen seem to take an intelligent interest in the welfare and progress of the Church. I think the subdiaconate is useful both in itself and as testifying the Church's desire for lay help, and her appreciation of it.'

In a letter home from Calcutta, when he returned on May 12, he said, 'I feel doubtful whether our plan for episcopal emancipation will come to anything. It is more difficult for Lord Salisbury to do anything for the Church than it was for the Duke of Argyle, who was "above suspicion." The Duke helped me when he could, and no one imagined that he would do anything in my way. He was indeed very kind. . . . I never get any remarkable new books. Masters has sent me Orbey Shipley's last, and I do not think much of Orbey. The Fabricius is very curious. I shall be in Calcutta for two months. I may find a little time to read, when I have overtaken the press of letters.'

Among these letters there were some to chaplains on matters of discipline, which show the Bishop's opinion on different subjects.

[1] Land given by Government as a reward for service.

'With regard to what is called the eastward position at the celebration of the Holy Communion, I always take it myself, and I believe it to be plainly directed in the Prayer-book. . . . The decisions in the courts of law are stated on the highest legal authority to be contradictory on this matter. The opinion seems gaining ground at home, that whatsoever may be decided on other points, this will at least be left open.'

As to confession he says, 'I myself have no objection to confession, unless it is made a *necessity* either for salvation, or what they call the higher life.'

Again he writes to one in charge of soldiers: 'I believe that confession, if made as little formal as possible, is of great service; but the difficulty is that, especially in India, a soldier may be unable to find anyone to confess to. I think this should always be dwelt upon, and the danger thence accruing. But if a man wishes it, after this difficulty has been pointed out, I should recommend confession, but not too minute or scrupulous. I should also impress upon them, that no man can be exempt from his proper accountability, and that all must in the last resort be responsible for their own judgments and acts. That he *should* not neglect *self*-examination, and that this will always stand him in stead, whether he has opportunities of subsequent confession or not. When a man after a sinful life returns to God, all Scripture precedents seem to advise a thorough confession.'

To one who had asked whether confirmation was absolutely necessary before Communion: 'Confirmation has not been regarded as of the same general necessity to salvation as baptism and the Lord's Supper. It was at first viewed rather as the complement of baptism, as is proved by its administration to infants. It is still so regarded in the Greek Church. I should say that a truer view of it, as part of the Christian foundation (Heb. vi. 1, 2), has come out in the West, and more and more of later years, especially in the Anglican Church. It seems to have been in the first instance regarded in this light, as is evident, I

think, from Acts viii. 5–18 and xix., as well as from the mention of it in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Hence it has become the rule with us, and with the Lutherans and Romanists, to use it as the appointed blessing on men's entrance into life, and as a pledge of the offering of their will as soon as it begins to act, to God. When what we may call the natural time for administering the rite is passed, especially when men have been living religious lives, and still more if they have been Communicants, the Church has always been unwilling to be over-strict in its requirements. . . . I would not therefore *require* confirmation in anyone desirous to remain a communicant after he has been one, nor could I insist on it in mature or advanced life, even when commencing communions, if intending communicants express their purpose of remaining communicants afterwards.'

'At the same time I should point out that, in my opinion, there is a defect in declining the ordinance. I think Our Lord lays down the principle by which men ought to be guided, when He uses the expression with respect to John's baptism, "That it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." The statutes and ordinances of God, as well as the laws and precepts, are celebrated in the 119th Psalm as dear to the devout heart. I cannot but think that the immediate action of the Apostles in Acts viii. plainly shows that confirmation was part of that order of the Kingdom of God which Christ taught His disciples before His ascension, and it would therefore seem to me that a neglect of it would be a declension from the endeavour to fulfil all righteousness, in the due observance of all Christian ordinances. I knew in the case of my own relations two remarkable instances of action on this belief.

'One was that of a maternal uncle, a Senior Wrangler and Mathematical, a first-rate judge, a great wit, but a very earnest and religious man. The father, though a Churchman latterly, was born of Socinian parents, and my uncle had not been confirmed. He was a man of deep devotion, large charity, and the highest character; but it struck him, after being many years a commu-

nicant, that he had not been confirmed. He then naturally shrank from the idea, but could get no inward rest till he had been confirmed, when I should think he was between fifty and sixty.

'The other instance was that of a clever and devout lady, a most excellent person in every respect. She had been confirmed, but felt doubts as to her baptism, because of the same Socinianism of her parents. Now a great and seemingly strange fear, most inconsistent apparently with her usual life, fell upon her when considerably advanced in years. She could not rest until she had been baptised in the true form instituted by Christ. She had forgotten the want till this fear came, and afterwards I never saw more devout patience and resignation, and peace and joy in a long lingering illness.

'I mention these cases because they illustrate my view, and help to fix my opinion, and give the true colour to my judgment. I should not, nevertheless, require confirmation of those who have been communicants and desire to continue so. I should, however, point out that it would be an acceptable act of faith if they were confirmed, and that to neglect it or to shrink from it, is not in my view according to Christ's spirit.'

The following curious parallel between Corinth and England, occurs in a letter in which the question of admitting a person to attend Holy Communion is discussed: 'Not to make light of evil, not to discourage or drive to despair, seem the two principles by which (in the abeyance of rules) we must be actuated. I hope such ruling as I gave you is in accordance with these principles. I think St. Paul fully establishes them in his Corinthian Epistles. I know no portion of Scripture which seems fuller of counsel and instruction, in this luxurious and self-confident but active and zealous age. England and the Anglican Church, the divisions within and without, the high spirit, the ability, the violence of parties, the extraordinary self-complacency, the extreme self-reliance, the acquiescence in much evil, with the sudden, violent, and almost extravagant reaction against it:

these, and many other as striking characteristics give a strong and strange parallel between Corinth and England. The latter, of course on a much larger scale, and with exaggerated features, reproduces the old centre of commerce, luxury, disputation and expensiveness not only in these, but also in her religious and spiritual aspects. It would be interesting to work out this parallel if you have time. . . .'

To one of the chaplains who proposed to use a sectarian building at Simla, belonging to a body calling themselves the Union Church:[2] he writes, 'When people wish to do something of which their conscience does not approve, they generally send me a telegraphic question; the necessary brevity forbids explanations, and some naked alternatives are exhibited in their natural difficulty and ugliness, and I am asked to choose between them. The decision would often embody consequences of which the questioner is unaware, and involve perhaps principles of the utmost importance, which are not visible at the moment. You seem to imply that I deny to Presbyterians a right to build a place of worship, where they can carry out their own methods and ideas. When have I done so? Nothing certainly can be further from my thoughts. . . . I look upon the plan and declarations of the Union Church as antagonistic to the Church of England. I believe the mission which it has undertaken has been and is mischievous. The idea dangled by it before the public eye is, in my opinion, an untruth. By allowing the building to be used with my consent and on my authority alone I should, in my judgment, give a recognition to it and its proceedings which would be dishonest.

'I cannot understand your difficulty about the administration of the Eucharist in a building used for secular purposes at other times. If you use it for prayer and for the ministry of the Word temporarily and under necessity, I do not object to the celebration of the Eucharist also, under the same conditions. . . . I am obliged to mark my disapproval of the "Union" or

[2] A chapel opened by a minister of the Free Kirk of Scotland.

"Disunion" scheme when I have an opportunity. I disapprove of it as a fiction. It is for this reason I gave you the decided answer by telegraph.'

A chaplain had applied to the commanding officer of a garrison for protection against the introduction of unauthorised teachers into a military hospital, moved thereto by their interference with a dying man which had prevented his receiving the Holy Sacrament before his death. The Bishop on being informed said:

'I see nothing objectionable in your application or letter; on the contrary I think both are right. . . . It is very vexing that you should be troubled thus, and that a man in the condition you describe should be turned aside from the gate of true repentance by the disturbing influence of a stranger. The doctrines of Methodism are terribly dangerous on sick-beds; I know this by much parochial experience. They labour to persuade a poor excitable sick man that to say a few confident and boastful words is sufficient; all idea of repentance, and naturally of Holy Communion, is excluded.'

He wrote to a friend in England:

'I hope the Colonial Office is not going to do away with the Bishopric of Colombo, as I see in the papers there is some idea of this. In our Eastern regions, it is a great misfortune when there is not some "spiritual" person in a good position, and of larger thought than missionaries in general. Certainly in India we Bishops are more of a link between Europeans and natives than anybody else. I really think that I have done more to promote a friendly feeling between English and native society than anybody else, not of course from any ability or energy, but simply from putting the natives at their ease in English society.

'You will excuse this if it seems boastful, but I do not mean it in that light, only simply to show that we are not politically useless. All other higher questions I omit. Bishop Cotton was regarded before me in the same light, as a true friend to

the natives. I think it inheres in the see to have that reputation.'

In another letter he speaks of his own furlough Bill, which had passed the Lords and was likely to become law. 'If it does, I may possibly be enabled to run home for a short time, but when I cannot tell, certainly not next year. The Bishop of Bombay has gone home upon the new rules. They were chiefly of my own framing, to prevent bishops remaining too long in England, while at the same time letting them get home easily and have enough allowance to keep them there. . . . The Archbishop's Bill[3] is too long a subject to discuss now, and it seems to have passed over to Lord Cairns. I wish it was in Chancery!'

Again he wrote home: 'I have another month's quiet in Calcutta, for which I am very thankful. It enables me to look at a book or two, and take a little thought, for which in travelling I have no leisure. Our house is comfortable from its size and airiness in the hot weather, and though the climate is relaxing, it is not unpleasant. I have just been reading Bishop Patteson's Life by Miss Yonge. What a wonderful life it is. How it puts one to shame, to think of the energy and industry he showed, the twenty-three languages he acquired, the labours that he endured, the dangers that he so often ran, the extreme self-abnegation which he practised, the simplicity and sweetness and strength so wonderfully united together. It reads like a portion of the Acts and of St. Paul's Epistles. It is really miraculous. The book takes me much back into the days of my youth, and the names which used to be familiar come out strongly in its pages. I wish he had come out to India. He would have been the man for it, as indeed he was for the smaller field in which he laboured and died.'

In a letter to a friend he described the effect on himself of reading this Life and the Memoir of Bishop Wilberforce in the April *Quarterly*. 'How they make me tremble *quâ* Bishop, the

[3] Public Worship Bill.

one, for his wonderful concentration of purpose, ability, and transcendent gifts on his poor Melanesian people, the other for the same wonderful concentration on the organisation and edification of the Christian Church in the height of civilisation and luxury. I confess after reading them a desire to "bolt," but I suppose I must work a little longer yet, and not make '*per viltate il gran rifiuto.*'[4]

'I must compose my charge about next Christmas. Please send me any important charges that you may think useful, or any other works which might be likely to give me useful ideas or materials. I feel very anxious about my manifesto.

'The times are ticklish, and there are many gainsayers, many watchers anxious to overthrow our Zion, and develope in its place nothingness. May Christ guide us and guard us in His mercy.'

The rest of the hot weather was passed in Calcutta. A young Mahomedan gentleman, one of the Nawab Nazim's family, who, the Bishop wrote, 'seemed to concentrate all the goodness of the family in himself,' came to be his guest at the palace, and was shortly afterwards baptised by him in the cathedral. He had been converted while at the school at Moorshedabad; the Bishop recommended him to study at Bishop's College, but his health failed, and he was afterwards obliged to return to Moorshedabad.

'I saw
And knew the shade of him, who to base fear
Yielding, abjured his high estate.'
Carey's translation of Dante's *Inferno*.

CHAPTER XXII.

1874.

Saharanpore—Revival of Mahomedanism—Story of claimant to Landouri Raj—Crossing the Jumna on planks—Confirmation of soldiers at Umballa—Regiment of Sikhs—Mr. Bateman—Lecture at Delhi to Literary Society—Proficiency in Hindustani—Visit to Rewaree—Jeypore—Ajmeer—Sermon at Cawnpore—Letter to a friend at Marlow—List of eight days' work at Lucknow—Conclusion of Visitation of North-West Provinces—Letter to a Chaplain about work at Simla—To a Missionary.

IN July the Bishop and his chaplain left on another visitation tour, to include, as the railway was then open, for the first time a visit to Rajpootana, with its cities of Jeypore, Ajmeer, etc.

The journey of two days and two nights in the train, with a total absence of rain, proved very trying, the thermometer in the carriage standing at 93° in the day and only a little lower at night. But when they reached their destination in the North-West Provinces, they found much rain had fallen there and had to traverse flooded fields. They had some difficulty in crossing the rivers, the water being over the bottom of the doolies. At Saharanpore, a city of 42,000 inhabitants, 'an earnest and devout Mussulman, Abdul Rahab, had revived Islam in the last few years; he had collected funds for the new mosque, and stirred up his co-religionists with great success. This information I had from the head master of the Government school, a Hindu Pundit and a "Liberal." He said there was no sectarian or political character, only a religious one in the revival. He also added that the Saharanpore Mussulmans were not bitter or split into factions as at Bareilly and Moradabad, but quiet and orderly, though zealous.'

'Besides the town mosque, a smaller one has been built some two or three miles off. The story, the Pundit said, was that in some former war (he did not know when) a headless Mussulman led his co-religionists in some battle with Hindus, and drove them before him in utter rout till some one asked him how he could fight so without his head, when he tumbled not headlong but headless in the moment of final victory. The mosques were built at the beginning and end of the headless hero's headlong career.

'Another curious story has come up here respecting a claimant to the Landouri Raj. The Rajah, a lad of some sixteen or so, upbraided the Rani, his mother, with immoral conduct; after two or three attempts he was supposed to have been poisoned, and was being carried out to the Ganges' side to be burned. Tidings came that a police messenger was sent to be at the burial and see the body before burning; this made those implicated throw the body into the Ganges in a hurry. The claimant states that the water recovered him from the poison stupor, that he was drawn out by a guru or fakir and was kept for seven years, waiting for a chance of re-asserting his right. It is said that the Rani adopted as heir a near relative of the man suspected of poisoning the young Rajah, who has since been placed on the *Gaddi*.[1] The claimant now comes forward to claim the Raj, which is worth about 25,000*l*. per annum. The whole district was agog; 30,000 people mustered to see him. It had been necessary to dress him in police uniform to get him through the mob.

'Some of the statements repeated made me think that somehow or other the tale of the Tichborne Claimant must have been studied and utilised by this Hindu Roger; however I only know the particulars by hearsay.'

In August the Bishop heard that 'the claimant' was in prison as a vagabond for six months. It appeared that he was a known fakir.

The account of this year's visitation of Dehra, Mussoorie, and

[1] Cushion or throne.

Chukrata present no new features. The rain fell incessantly, and the Bishop speaks of being 'thoroughly soaked' as he rode up the hills and from one place to the other. It is only a journal of much work with exceptionally trying weather, but with the comfort of 'finding the work of the Church prospering well at Mussoorie and Landour.'

On his descent to the plains, he found the bridge over the Jumna broken. He crossed the river on planks, a wonderful proof of steady head and nerves, which seemed to prove him unchanged in that respect from the day when, as a boy at Westminster School, he walked round the outside of one of the towers of Westminster Abbey on the projecting cornice. His chaplain, a much younger man, had to be swung over by ropes in a kind of basket. The planks were at a considerable height, fastened to the piers of the broken suspension bridge; the Jumna, a strong and rushing river, not fordable there, even for elephants.

Several other hill stations were visited, and as lovingly dealt with as usual. He records three things wanting at Simla; a new church, a native pastor, and a parsonage. He finally descended to the plains at the beginning of September, and at Umballa he describes a large confirmation, where 135 of the candidates were soldiers. 'It was a striking sight to see so many fine soldiers (several sergeants among them) present themselves for God's blessing and in confession of Christ; may the blessing abide upon them. I was very anxious about my two addresses to so many young men liable to so many temptations, and I endeavoured to speak as plainly and as strongly as I could. I recommended some book of preparation for Holy Communion.'

'At the school of the 32nd Native Infantry, the Subadar Major met us. He has two grandsons anxious to become Christians in the school, and is grievously alarmed at the idea. He was evidently nervous, fancying I should baptise one of them out of hand. The schoolmaster and his wife are Christians. They seemed intelligent and devoted; both had parted from their

heathen consorts and then married. An uncomfortable idea to my feeling.

'Bateman,[2] who met me here, is a great enthusiast, and at the same time clever, and with organising powers. He has difficult work. These Maghabee Sikhs are the regiment that at one time, under Colonel Hovenden, were nearly turning Christians. Of course there is a new set of men now, and the impulse passed away, I fear partly by injudicious interference on the part of the authorities. Bateman takes the line of conforming to natives' ways as far as is compatible with Christianity; teaches and prays, squatting without his shoes on a mat, and expounds sitting. The church which he is building at Narawal is as Saracenic as he can make it.'

Six days were spent at Meerut, entirely devoted to the work of the station and the mission, 'the mission work was making steady, though slow progress.' The prison was visited, where, he wrote, 'The boys are taught morals! The Commandments, e.g., which one boy, a confirmed little burglar, shrieked out in vehement Hindustani. The edification was questionable, but perhaps the knowledge may tend to create a conscience by degrees.'

Delhi, a great centre of mission work, was the next halting place. Besides the English services, visits to hospitals, schools, and an address to the soldiers in their chapel, there were many services in Hindustani at the mission church. At the native confirmation, a woman retained the Purdah, kneeling in a sort of chapel at the side of the chancel to receive the holy rite. In an address to the missionaries and native agents, the Bishop exhorted them to steadfastness, and large-heartedness in the work.

In addition to an address delivered to the educated natives, on 'National Character,' he describes a lecture he gave in Hindustani, to the Delhi Literary Society at the institute on the 'Progress of Literature,' 'recommending authorship, university life, and perseverance to natives of high ability and education.

[2] A missionary of the C. M. S.

'There was a goodly show of native gentlemen, to whom I was introduced; the subject was a little difficult to express in Hindustani, which the rule of the society requires. Of course I could only give a most rapid and superficial glance at the subject, taking for my guide the *'illat i mãddī*, *'illat i sūrī*, *'illat i fā'ilī*, *'illat i ghā'ī*,[3] then briefly applying this to the spiritual use of speech in speaking, writing, printing. As far as I know, it was well received, and a native gentleman returned thanks.

Mr. Winter, the missionary at Delhi, who had been many years in India, speaking of the Bishop's wonderful knowledge of the languages, said: 'The Bishop's great power of preaching in Hindustani was well known, but his knowledge of the scientific and historical terms, needed in the address on secular subjects, was equally remarkable. I was much struck by this lecture, on "The History of Literature." He spoke most eloquently for an hour, without a note before him, on a subject demanding language very different from that needed in religious addresses, and including the use of a large number of technical terms. I have seen the Bishop sit down in a school, and examine the boys in Persian in the difficult lithograph type, as though he were thoroughly acquainted with that language also.'

The scholarly acquisition of these languages seems very remarkable, when one remembers the absolute want of leisure for study possessed by one who was said to be 'The most hard-working man in India.' The article in the *Calcutta Review*, which has been already quoted, refers to this marvellous power, for so it seemed, that 'one who came to India, for the first time, at the age of 51, and was necessarily immersed in English work, should be able to preach without notes in Hindi, Hindustani, and Bengali, and to conduct services in some of the less known dialects and varieties of these languages as well. His studies were chiefly carried on in trains, dâk *gharris*, boats, *palkis*. An

[3] Material cause—formal cause—efficient cause—final cause, Arabic expressions which may be used in Hindustani, and show that the Bishop was master of the higher and more scientific language.

Arabic or Persian grammar would often occupy a dusty journey, or a boat voyage down the rivers.

Before the Bishop left Delhi, he went for the first time to Rewaree, about 50 miles distant. 'I went by the new Ulwar Railway with the Rev. R. Winter and Tara Chand, a journey of about four hours. There were a carriage, elephants, and a lot of native gentlemen waiting at the station. I received, in a kind of tiny Durbar, the young Rajah and the bankers, municipal committee, banyas[4] and schoolmasters at about four P.M. They were all presented to me. The Mufti was an intelligent-looking man. I examined the Government school, of which the master is a Christian, in English and Persian, reading, geography and history. In all, the answers were above par.

'Afterwards we went driving and on elephants to the little chapel in Rampura, a suburb of Rewaree. The heat was so great inside, that we were obliged to adjourn, and to have service in the open air, a number of heathen looking on. Mr. Winter baptised two men. I then confirmed 39. The women were confirmed inside the chapel. They were mostly weavers from Jodpore. We were obliged, by the approaching darkness, to abbreviate the baptismal office. Tara Chand made an address, instead of the preface, and I made another for the confirmation. The service was *warm*, I hope also spiritually. There were about 60 people in all. Rewaree is one of the meshes in the Christian net which Mr. Winter is endeavouring to establish round his mission.'

This was a curious spectacle. The Rajah on his elephant, with his train of followers, the other elephants with their gorgeous trappings, a crowd of heathen, many of the leading men of the place among them, stood round to gaze on the little band of Christian worshippers, and the Bishop in his robes taking his part in the service in the open air. The attention which this scene attracted to the Christians drew on them much persecution, and they suffered for their faith.

[4] Merchant, or shopkeeper.

Before he returned to Delhi, he consecrated a cemetery on ground given by the municipality, at which he made a short address. He then had Holy Communion for the native congregation in the little chapel, where there were about fifty communicants.

The Bishop continues: 'We returned to Delhi, rather a hot journey, and the next day I went to the mission-house for a native reception arranged by Mr. Winter. There were some forty gentlemen in all, one of the Delhi royal family, the Nawab Nabi Baksh, and many others. I went afterwards to a court-yard in Darya Gunge, where we had a short service, and Tara Chand and I preached. There were about fifty Christians on one side, and perhaps double the number of heathen, possible enquirers, on the other. We had a *bajan*[5] of the usual trying character, which however was sung heartily.

'This concluded my Delhi visitation, which has been especially interesting in a missionary point of view. The work is laborious, the field large, and the labourers are few. I trust the assistance hoped for may not fail Mr. Winter, as he has too much on his hands.'

After the Bishop left Delhi, he continued his visitation of different places in the North-West, and in October went down by the special train, which was to open the Rajpootana Railway to Jeypore. He arrived at Jeypore on the 12th of October, where he found great rejoicings going on in honour of the occasion. The city and palace and the hill above the city illuminated in the native fashion.

The Maharajah's College in the city, and the Thakur's[6] School were visited. The Rajah is said to take much interest in education, and the Bishop was able fairly to pay him a compliment on the progress made. He looked at some of the enamel-work on gold, for which Jeypore is celebrated. This process of enamelling is said to be a secret, which the Rajah does not allow to be communicated.

[5] Hymn. [6] Chief amongst Rajpoots.

'At the Badminton party, the Maharajah and Pertabh Sing, cousin of the Jodhpore Rajah, and three or four other native gentlemen, were playing with the English. It seems curious that they can play, but not dine, and odd that this does not strike them as strange.'

From the Rajah's Palace there is a good view of the city, which is fine, large, and well laid out.

'We drove down and up the ghat on the Delhi road. It is a very grand gorge, with rocky sides, gardens of the citizens and rajahs nestling in between them and the road, picturesque summer-houses and kiosks, a large tank or two with good trees. There is a little school for English and Eurasians. Colonel and Mrs. Beynon give much time to this, as to all other good works. It was pleasant to see so much quiet, earnest lay work in this rather lonely situation. May God return it to them.'

The services on Sunday were in a room used for that purpose. The residents were prepared to build a church, and the Maharajah had given a good site. It was proposed that an Additional Clergy Society chaplain should be found for this place and Ajmeer, and the Bishop promised his help. Before the year was out he was able to send a clergyman to Ajmeer; the church has since been built at Jeypore, and a window is now being placed in it to the Bishop's memory.

'At Ajmeer, the Dusserah feast was "raging" during our stay, and the people intensely interested in it. The whole proceeding seems quiet and orderly under our rule. The figures of Ravan and Kumbaram were standing on the Maidan waiting to be burned. The show was pleasing. The street was intensely gay with red and yellow and blue dresses of women, pagris and kamarbands of red and yellow and striped. The ceremonial was, two boys on one elephant and two on another, representing Ram and his brothers and their reunion after the close of the *ban-jātrā*.[7] The elephants were gaily painted, the boys in armour with bows and arrows.

[7] Pilgrimage through the forest.

'I went over to Pushkara lake and temples. A very holy place. The one temple dedicated to Brahma is said to be here. It is at one end of the town, on a rising ground. The Ghâts round the lake are many of them very pretty. There are numerous Brahmins here, whose character was not high, noisy and quarrelsome among themselves.

'Another day I went up Taragarh; near the bottom is a so-called Jain temple with a Mussulman façade. General Cunningham thinks it no Jain temple, but has his usual theory of a collection of spoils from Hindu temples erected with a Mussulman façade, as at the Kutub. I must, however, rather agree with Mr. Grouse (in his report) that this is in many cases a gratuitous supposition. The junction of pillars, one on the top of the other, seems rather unlikely, and in these pillars, taking the whole structure into account, almost an impossibility. They are in three lengths, and very long in proportion to their diameter. They seem to harmonise thoroughly together, and are very peculiar. They cannot well have been from different temples put together one on the other. The façade is very fine, a central arch with four rather lower, each side cusped. The whole surface is elaborately carved with Arabic texts on the broader surfaces. The interior consists of the temple joined violently on (so to say) to the façade. It is divided into nine portions, each with its pillars, and concentric circular lantern. The figures have been broken and almost smoothed down to the surface by the Mussulmans. The whole is built of fine pink sandstone. In the court without, which was once cloistered all round, several pillars are lying, some of which I was told had been taken down to form a triumphal arch for Lord Mayo, when he visited the place to lay the first stone of the Mayo College, and have been carried back, but not set up again. I hear a grant has been made for the maintenance of the building, which is very grand and very peculiar, and deserves care. It does not seem valued by the natives.

'The view of the top of Taragarh is very fine. It was

rather hazy, so we could not see the distance, but the valley and the hills, the town and castle, with the lake make a striking landscape.

'The Mayo College is to be a central college. Schools and houses for the different states will be in a long oblong built round it. The Jeypore house, designed by Dr. de Fabeck, is nearly complete. Two other houses were begun.'

The Bishop went over to Nusserabad, where a few troops were stationed, to give a morning service early on Sunday; directly after that was concluded, he returned to Ajmeer for the services there, leaving his chaplain for the evening at Nusserabad. He visited the Ajmeer College with its 800 pupils, and the mission schools belonging to the United Presbyterian Society. This society has occupied Rajpootana, and has missions at Jeypore, Ajmeer, Byawa, etc.

'The men are earnest and painstaking, and respected, not of much original education or position, but with work and love these difficulties may be overcome, but the system is rather too cold and bald for mission work, though the very occupation may soften eventually the theories of the preachers.'

Before he left Rajpootana, the Bishop visited Ulwar. Here he found the Rajah just dead, his successor not yet appointed. 'We left in the carriage belonging to the late Rajah with four horses and two postilions, who drove admirably along a good road to Nagar. Thence we proceeded in a carriage and pair of the Bhurtpore Rajah's to Dieg, where we lunched at the palace, and then went on to Bhurtpore. After waiting a couple of hours, we travelled by rail to Agra, and from thence also by rail in the night to Etawah, which we reached at 4.50 A.M., but I remained in my railway carriage for two hours, and then went to the house of the Collector.'

Here, what had been a comparative holiday for the Bishop came to an end, and his work began again.

In the account of the visitation of Cawnpore there is nothing

remarkable, except that in his English sermon on the Sunday on the text, 'God is not the God of the dead but of the living,' he alluded to the sad memories of the place and to the report of the capture of the Nana. A man who had represented himself as the Nana to the Maharajah Scindiah, had been given up by the Maharajah to the English authorities; but when subsequently brought before those who knew the Nana personally, he was proved to be an impostor. It was supposed that his object was to get a pension from Scindiah, not expecting that he would give him up to the English.

After an address to a large gathering of educated natives on the hereditary intellectual ability of different races, a clever native lawyer made a speech in reply, when proposing thanks, 'which was interesting as showing respect, but nothing more, for Christianity.'

From Cawnpore he wrote to a friend at Marlow, his old parish in England, to say that he had 'found out at Umballa three young Marlovians in the Hussars. They have grown into fine young fellows, bore a very good character, and seemed happy in their profession. The army is very different from what it used to be. I think in India more is done for the soldiers than even at home. There are prayer-rooms, reading-rooms, literary institutes, libraries, innocent recreations, penny readings, etc., in most of the cantonments. Under our present Commander-in-Chief, insubordination, which had been very bad, is much diminished; and on the whole, the general run of soldiers is very decent and respectable. The 11th Hussars is a particularly fine regiment. I had a large number of candidates for confirmation from among them. At Meerut, afterwards, I met a young man from Lamborne, another cavalry man, who also seemed steady and cheerful. It was a pleasure to be recognised by my old parishioners. Will you kindly tell the parents of the Marlovians that I saw their sons and found them with a good character, well behaved and happy. I hope all things are in a favourable condition at dear old Marlow.

The old river and trees, and shade, and the friendly faces often rise up before me here, and rather contrast with the comparative desolation and dryness and formality of India.'

'The ecclesiastical atmosphere at home seems rather charged with electricity. Whether it will end in a dangerous storm, or be mere summer lightning, remains to be seen. The aspect of affairs is rather threatening, but, on the whole, I think people are really well disposed, and anxious for a fair and good solution of the difficult problems before us.'

The amount of work the Bishop was able to get through in a few days, and the great variety of his labours, in a place where there was a cantonment as well as a mission, are well shown by what was done in eight days at Lucknow.

A list is given, as it is a fair specimen of what took place at every large station he visited.

A confirmation in the cantonment church, with 116 candidates. An address against fearfulness in religion to the soldiers in the same church.

A confirmation in Christ Church, in the Civil Lines; 86 candidates.

The cholera cemetery consecrated, with a short address.

The 65th and 40th regimental hospitals visited; an address made in each to the patients.

A gathering of regimental school children at the soldiers' prayer-room, with a suitable address.

The English prison visited, and an address made to the prisoners.

The new civil cemetery consecrated, with an address.

The artillery, cavalry, and convalescent hospitals visited, and a different address given in each.

The Martinière boys' and girls' schools examined.

A meeting about the establishment of the Guild of the Holy Standard, at which the Bishop was enrolled a member.

Examination of the mission school. Recitations and prizes given, with a speech in Hindustani from the Bishop.

Three smaller mission schools examined.

A Hindustani confirmation, 39 candidates; the Bishop gave his address in Hindustani.

A double conference, first with eight representatives of East Indians, then with officials, on the questions of education and employment of this body.

An address to the educated natives at the *Bara Dari* on stagnation and revival, i.e. on the way of reviving the life of India morally and spiritually.

Visits at the mission-house in the Lukur Baksh from some native gentlemen, the Rajah of Bulrampore and his son, 'a gentlemanly and pleasant couple of Oudh nobles,' the chief Moollah and others.

An opening service for the North-West Provinces and Oudh conference of the C. M. S. The Bishop delivered an address on 'Samson's riddle,' to the assembled missionaries, men and women, pointing out the need of entering into the spirit of the creeds and systems which they would convert to Christianity.

After this the conference was opened, and some questions of discipline and the new hymnal were discussed.

Sunday, 8 A.M. Hindustani service. The Bishop preached and assisted at the celebration; 118 communicants.

11 A.M. Service and Holy Communion at the cantonment church. The Bishop preached and celebrated; 101 communicants.

In the evening a sermon in the Civil Lines church.

The Guild of the Holy Standard was an association for the promotion of religion among soldiers. It had been introduced into India with the Bishop's consent, after consulting with the military authorities. It was found to work well, and the Bishop recommended its adoption in many places on his tours. As late as 1876 he wrote, 'If the clergy heartily support it, I think that it may do much good, and prove a real help to their work.'

After Lucknow he continued his visitation. At Allahabad,

the last place on the tour, where there are four churches, all at a considerable distance from one another, he preached on the Sunday four extempore sermons, one of them in Hindustani, and appeared to be none the worse for the exertion. His physical powers were the wonder of everyone, to say nothing of the intellectual efforts; he preached a different sermon in each church, and one was in a foreign language. He returned to Calcutta by the middle of December, crossing the river by the bridge over the Hooghly which had been opened during his absence up the country.

In the course of this year he had held sixty-two confirmations in different languages, he had consecrated six churches and eight cemeteries, had inspected schools and cemeteries, visited hospitals addressing the sick, given lectures to educated natives and to soldiers, besides holding services and preaching at every station he visited.

In a letter on the work at Simla to a chaplain he had thought of sending there, he said: '. . . You are right in thinking that in the hill stations a chaplain is more tied in his action than in permanent stations. It is plain that it is not right to allow men, who remain for only two years, to follow their own wishes, which may be in opposition to predecessors and successors; and the church committee should have much authority and the Bishop be consulted on any change of importance. A choir, containing ladies, is, I believe, a necessity in large hill stations. A little tact will go a long way, and a man possessing it need have no difficulty beyond that inherent in the position.

'The visiting in Simla is a serious task, and of course takes up a considerable time. There is, however, a Kerani[8] world as well, which ought to be looked up, and with whose thoughts and ways you are, I think, well acquainted. The Sunday schools ought to find out their children, and the parents through the children. The visiting the gentry ought to be looked upon as part of the regular work, and especially there ought to be con-

[8] Clerks in the public offices.

tinued applications for subscriptions to all our diocesan works. This gives at once a spiritual character to the visit, and is useful to the diocese. It will also make your friends satisfied with a decent number of visits. . . . In parishes at home, I always found it advisable, and I think *rightly* necessary, to visit the gentry regularly. I did not thereby neglect the poor, and I think that the influence thus acquired was exceedingly useful.'

'I wish therefore now to know whether you would desire to go to Simla with this prospect before you. My impression is that you would do well for the place. But you must remember that there is a good deal to be done, and some management and self-denial (that is, denial of one's own will and way) are necessary there. It is far from a place of rest, except in winter, but then the rest is complete. . . . They think a good deal of preaching at Simla, so that a man ought to take some thought about his sermon, as indeed we ought everywhere and at all times, but at Simla there are *clever* critics. Send me word of your decision as soon as you can.'

To a missionary he enlarges on the necessity of interesting those around him in his work. 'One great missionary duty is to press on everyone the support of the neighbouring mission. We often let much good money go into Dissenting pockets, because we will not ask for it. It is a false pride not to beg. I beg without scruple, for I feel that I am glad to be asked myself when there is any promising opening, and I do not know why I should not give the same pleasure to others also.'

CHAPTER XXIII.

1875.

Letter to a Brother in England—To a Clergyman on the Death of his Wife—Appeal for Men to Work—To Mr. Hardy—To the Father of a young man who wished to become a Missionary—To his Brother—Last Visit to Chota Nagpore—Admittance of Prisoners to Church privileges—Letters home—Scheme of increased aid for the Education of poorer Europeans—Parsonage Homes for Chaplains—Letter to Bishop Douglas—to a Cousin in England—Articles in *Calcutta Review*—Letter of sympathy to one of his Clergy—Revision of the Hindustani and Hindi Prayer Book—New Lectionary—Marriage by American Minister—Marriage of divorced persons—Burial Questions—Uncovering the Head in Church—Sal Forest—Sister's Illness—Cachar—Plan for providing the Planters with a Clergyman.

AN ordination occupied the Bishop on his first return to Calcutta. Christmas Day, with its hearty services and quiet hospitalities, came round, and on New Year's Day he wrote to his brother in England: 'We are spending an uneventful time at present in Calcutta, but I am writing to you on the first day of 1875, and who can tell what the year may bring forth? It will be late when the wish arrives, but on the day itself it seems natural to wish you many happy new years. The time is rather busy, and there are several things that ought to be done, and for which I ought to find immediate time. They accrue and accumulate for me when I return to Calcutta. However, I am getting through them by degrees. We are having beautiful and pleasant weather, while the papers involve you in frost and fog of a severe description. We are going to-day for a holiday to see some waterworks on the riverside, about eighteen miles away; the head of the channels which supply Calcutta. . . . I am anxious about the future working of the Archbishop's Bill.

My impression is, that little will come of it, but this is by no means certain, as there are associations possessing means, which propose to be aggressive, and which are said to be already at work, whereas when the Papal Aggression Bill fell dead, after its violent entrance into the Statute Book, there was no similar organisation ready to carry it out.'

How truly he sympathised with his clergy in every way, is touchingly shown in this letter to one of the missionaries in England on the death of his wife:

'I feel deep sorrow for your loss, and sympathy in your affliction; you who knew the full value of your excellent wife must indeed be sorely tried by it. Yet the comfort of her faith and peace in her end must also be strong to support and refresh you. I have generally seen that really devout and earnest minds pass through a time of doubt, and sometimes of darkness, when the first alarms of death are whispering round them, and then emerge into the peace which passes understanding. The idea of the world to come is so very solemn, and to "meet God" so exceeding serious, that spiritually minded persons, when it is pressed strongly home, cannot help some trembling and terror. It is the manifest visitation and consolation of God's presence which first bears them up under it, and then lifts them on into the *Light* of His countenance. So it seems to have been with your dear wife, to meeting hereafter with whom you can look joyfully forward. It is very kind of you writing to inform us; I miss you much from Calcutta. I have not heard lately of Mirzapore, and your other fields of work. I believe that things go on fairly, but I doubt whether, when your constant impulse is lacking, there will be any expansion of work, or increase of fruit. As yet our native friends, however excellent, seem to lack the *vivida vis*. They get on fairly themselves, and are respectable and worthy, but they cannot quicken. You must feel your loss more at home, if possible, than out here, but I trust you may yourself be strengthened and return to help us.

'The cry for men, men, men, seems as strong and agonising as ever. I trust it may meet a response in God's good time.'

Again he is writing to England to express the pain that the want of men for mission work gives him. 'The fields of labour will not wait. Others slip in where our men ought to be, or missions actually relapse and come to nothing, because there is nobody to help us.'

There had been some trouble on one of the committees, to which he alludes: 'The delusion about the dread of High Churchmen brings about a general *non possumus* and nothing more. However, we must not be impatient at "contradiction." We know the great example of enduring it, and when I feel inclined to bubble, I remember very often that "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God," and the bubbles break.'

To his former chaplain, Mr. Hardy, he writes about a young man who had been anxious to give up a Government appointment and to become a missionary, but over whose faith some doubts had subsequently come. 'I have read your young friend's letters with painful interest. They show the natural working of a strong earnest mind, with the various solemn problems of eternal truth forcing themselves on his attention, with insufficient and probably mistaken friends to refer to. By the 'irony of history' the Gospel of St. John is now recognised, even by infidel critics, as the most undoubted of all the Gospels, yet this he seems not to have heard. But the whole of the objections which occupy his mind seem to me discussed, and I think, fully answered in "Liddon's Bampton Lectures." Has he read that book? You know it. It is one of the books that I require from candidates for Holy Orders, and I think it is better suited than "Pearson on the Creed," for the very reason that it takes the objections now actually raised and felt, and considers and replies to them.'

'As to the future, I had been thinking over it before I got your letter and its enclosure, and somehow the thought impressed

itself on my mind, that if he went to England he had better go to Cuddesdon Theological College. The danger of an "Eclipse of Faith" strengthens this idea. I have great faith in Cuddesdon; Furze is an excellent Warden, its tradition is good. . . . I am quite willing to contribute myself to any plan thought best for young ——, if the desire to serve the Church remains, as I think it will, when he has come out of the "trial as by fire" through which he is passing, as he would be most useful to this diocese. It seems to me that the Evil One is endeavouring to keep back a probable apostle from Christ's service. I trust the Truth will prevail. Christ grant it. Amen. Of course, if I can be of any service, any amount of time that I can spare is at your or young ——'s disposal in this matter.' This was written at the beginning of the year. Two months later he wrote to the father of the young man: 'I am much grieved and surprised at your letter about your son. It was impossible that I should not admire and be cordially thankful for the spirit in which (as far as I know) he was offering himself up to the work of Christ. I was aware that he was sacrificing good earthly prospects for this purpose, and seemed to be obeying a special call such as Christ vouchsafes to those whom he loves: "Sell all that thou hast, give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come take up thy cross and follow Me." It is long since I heard of his intention, and I was aware that he had passed through trials, intellectual difficulties and doubts, as well as some natural opposition from his relatives. I thought that both these intellectual and social trials were overcome, and that Christ had brought him safely through them all. In his last letter to me (he has written twice) I understood that he was about to resign his appointment and go and stay with his relatives for a month or so before entering for half a year's theological study at Bishop's College. I therefore thought that all difficulties had vanished. I am not aware that I have influenced him, one way or another, in his decision, although I naturally expressed my joy in it. Some time ago I conveyed,

through Mr. Hardy, some consolation and advice in the intellectual difficulties, but these were entirely distinct from the social ones, into which I have never had occasion to enter. Your son's intention must, I imagine, have been long known to you, and he has waited till he was of such an age as to make a sober and well-grounded judgment. From such acquaintance as I have with yourself, I confess that I should have expected that you would gladly acquiesce in his self-devotion. As things now stand, I cannot in any way dissuade him from carrying out his purpose, and can only express my admiration of it. I should, however, hope that on reconsideration you will see how great a comfort and encouragement it will be to him if you can give a hearty and loving (if regretful) consent to his plan of offering himself for the missionary ministry. Had I heard from you a year ago, there might have been a difference in my view; but after all that your son has gone through, and at his present age, I cannot see any reason for discouraging him, and can only trust that you will see how good it will be that you should give him with your whole heart to the Lord, as you have already given one who is studying at Keble College, Oxford. I think that you know how attached Mr. Hardy is to, and how he values, your son. I fancy that he feels with me, that your son's desire opens before him the noblest and highest of all pursuits and prospects. I do not myself know your son W——, except by what I have seen of his letters, and heard from Mr. Hardy; but such acquaintance makes me imagine that if anyone will be a great missionary he is likely to be so. Let me then ask you to give him every comfort and encouragement that a father can, and commit him (if not without natural regret, yet with joy and faith) to our good Lord's work.'

At the end of January he writes home: 'We are still enjoying pleasant and cool weather. M—— seems tired, as she has had a great deal to do with hospitals and committees and our winter parties. These are nearly over, as I have to start on Tuesday night, February 2, for a mission visitation in Chota

Nagpore. M—— follows me about ten days later, as I am at first going into the wilds, where she could not well accompany me. We hear of dacoits, and a man eating tiger on the road, but neither are in the habit of attacking gharris or sahibs. It sounds a little alarming at home, but the dangers are almost all imaginary.

'The approaching session is rather an anxious one in Church matters, and I pray that the spirit of patience and meekness may descend on both clergy and laity, and wisdom and love and a sound mind on all our rulers and governors spiritual and temporal. It will be sad if some sensible and reasonable arrangement cannot be reached, even if that arrangement is only to leave things as they are. If this can be done by common consent, the result may be peace. But then the courts of law will have to review and revise their judgments, and if this is wisely and well done there still may be peace.'

The account of this, the Bishop's last and seventh visit to Chota Nagpore, is given entire, as it will be interesting to those readers who care for the work of the Church in India. They will see how, under his fostering care, the Church in this province had grown so much as to make it necessary for him to take this journey into the country districts. The Christians had become too numerous for them to come in to Ranchi to meet him, as they had done on his former visitations.

In his journal we read of the journeys and the work, but find no mention of the discomforts of travelling in a country where there were no European houses. Mud-wall school-rooms to sleep in, often not very palatable food, and exposure to sun and rain; all these must, in spite of his strength, have been very trying to a man of his age. And to these must be added the weight of all that constituted the purpose of the journey; the constant watchfulness, the daily preaching, the great length of the services in crowded chapels, the continual use of a language which he had not much occasion to use in other parts of his

diocese. But all was borne cheerfully, and he was only thankful that there was so much work to do.

On February 2, after a clerical meeting, he started from Calcutta at 10.30 P.M., by himself, having left Mr. Jacob to help in the cathedral, there being no one to appoint as second chaplain. He arrived at Ranchi on the morning of the 5th, after three nights and two days of constant travelling. The missionaries met him at the house of Colonel Dalton, the Commissioner, and made arrangements for his journey into the district.

'On Saturday, February 6, we started about 2 P.M. for Itki, a distance of fifteen miles, Whitley riding, and Bohn and I in palkis. We reached the place at 6.45 P.M., and I held a confirmation immediately in Hindi, confirming 132 candidates. The little chapel was full to overflowing, and the service was very earnest and hearty. They seemed to expect rather more candidates, and there was some mistake here. I made two addresses.

'On Sunday, 7th, we had Mattins at 8, and about 11.30 we had a celebration at which Bohn preached. There were 279 communicants. Evensong was at 6 P.M., at which I preached from Is. lx. 23.

8th.—'On Monday we started at 8, for Ladhma about twelve or thirteen miles off, and there we breakfasted. A curious fair with grain and Manchester goods, and bangles and ornaments, singular and very heavy, was going on. After breakfast we proceeded through a very severe storm of rain and lightning to Kurrah; after a brief service we dined and slept in the Government school-room, after drying our clothes and sleeping things to the best of our ability. We had a large wood fire in the middle of the shed, which was very picturesque and comfortable, but distressing to the eyes. The journey was about ten miles, twenty-two or twenty-three in all.

9th.—'On Tuesday we started at about 8. We crossed the Karen river, an affluent of the Subunrika, rather swollen by the rain, but without any difficulty, and reached Ramtolia, where

we had a second confirmation, at which I made my address, and confirmed 201 candidates. The service was in Hindi. The day had been beautiful, and was cool and pleasant after the rain, in fact almost cold.

10th.—'Ash Wednesday. We had a shower in the morning, but it did not last long, and we had Mattins at 7 A.M. At 10 we had a celebration at which 217 communicated. We then went on seven miles to Urikel, where, while the congregation was collecting, we walked up a pretty rocky hill. The trees were very fine here. Bears are found in the hills.

'At 7 P.M. we had Evensong, at which Bohn preached.

11th.—'On Thursday we proceeded another seven miles to Tapkara. Thence we made an excursion to the falls of the Kairu, called the Perna (or Pigeon) Falls, from the pigeons in the rocks above it. In about five miles we struck the river, where it rushes through a fine rocky bed just below the falls, and climbed the hill to the top of the lower and chief member of the fall. The river sweeps out of a gorge with picturesque red and black rocks and trees, in two or three leaps, and then descends in a grand rush of about 100 feet.

'There are other fine falls from the plateau down the Ghâts in different places, one of upwards of 300 feet perpendicular, the Rahtna Fall if I remember right. It was hot clambering about in the river gorge, and we were glad to find our palkis again, and return to Tapkara in time for the confirmation at 4.30 P.M., at which I confirmed the large number of 430 Mundas. In confirming these people, I had to move down through the serried ranks, stumbling occasionally over babies and feet, but their behaviour was very quiet, earnest, and devout, and the birds and babies did not disturb them, though a little difficulty to myself.

'12th.—The next morning I confirmed thirteen more who had been late for service the evening before, and at 10 A.M. we had a celebration at which 362 communicants participated. The service held in the school-room was in Hindi.

'The foundations of the chapel here are above the ground, and I promised 100 rupees towards its completion.

'We went on in the afternoon, seven miles to Patpur, a pretty place with little rocky hills and fine trees. A tradition attaches to one of these hills, Patti, or Pitara. Two Ranis who were great belles, insisted on having their boxes of dresses and jewels carried to the top of one of the hills, where their tents were pitched. The bearers were exhausted when they put down the Pitaras,[1] which turned with their contents into two large stones exactly the shape of Pitaras, and there they are to this day, so that there is no doubt of the truth of the story!

13th.—'On Saturday we started at 8, and went seven miles to Murhu, the place I visited before, on my journey from Ranchi to Chiabassa. Here there is a fine rest-house, due to Hardy's generous gift, and a tolerable chapel. We arrived about 10, and presently the Rev. W. Luther, vicar of Chiabassa, arrived with about thirty-five of his flock. He gave a good account of his charge and school, and seemed to have been working faithfully and successfully. At 4 P.M. we had a confirmation of fifteen candidates in Mundari (which I had mastered sufficiently to understand and say the service). I made my addresses in English, Whitley translating admirably sentence by sentence. It is not an unpleasant nor unmusical language, the same as Santhali, but differently pronounced, and varying in some points; Dravidian according to Dr. Caldwell. It seems to me, however, to have borrowed at all events much of its structure from Bengali. The reduplication of the pronouns is a curious feature in it, and the interposition of the object when a pronoun, in the middle of the word, is also remarkable. There is a very faint expression in the Mundari, of the cluck so marked in Santhali, about as much as the Visarga in the mouths of some Pundits, a sudden expiration with a slight stop. The dual number is in use, and a double pronominal plural, one including, the other excluding, the speaker in the first person.'

[1] Large basket, or box.

14th.—'At Murhu on Sunday we had a twofold celebration, the first at 8 A.M., when 207 communicated. Then there was a confirmation of 32 who were late on Saturday, and afterwards a second celebration at which 270 communicated. We were obliged to have another confirmation in the evening, at which 282 were confirmed, making 434 in all. I made my addresses in English, which Whitley again translated.

15th.—'We had a third celebration on Monday expressly for the confirmees, at which there were 188 communicants, giving with those of Sunday a total of 622 communicants. Remarkable numbers!

'We then went on some nine miles to Marany Nada, where I confirmed 204 candidates. Here again the service was in Mundari, and, as before, Whitley translated my addresses.

16th.—'On Tuesday we had a celebration of Holy Communion, at which 215 communicated.

'We afterwards went on to Ranchi, and so completed a most interesting round. The services were everywhere hearty and earnest.'

17th.—'At Ranchi I had to carry on the examination of the candidates for ordination, six for the priesthood and four for the diaconate. The examination began on Wednesday afternoon, and continued over Thursday and Friday. Mr. Luther translated the questions into Hindi, and read the answers to me. Roger Dutt passed an excellent examination; Krueger, when answering in German, a very fair one. The native candidates also passed well. They were much on an equality, Antinous the best among the native deacons.

'I had two confirmations, Friday and Saturday.

'In the evenings at 6 we had Evensong, and addresses on the ministry; the inner life of prayer and study, the outer life of worship and loving service.

'On Sunday we had the ordination service in Hindi. Mr. Whitley arranged that there should be no English service, that as many English people as possible might be present at the ordination.

'The service began with a processional hymn, next followed the ordination of deacons, then of priests, five priests joining in the imposition of hands.

'The church was crammed with the native congregation, and there was a fair attendance of English people. The service was long, taking four hours. It was, I think, very impressive, and I trust may be fully blessed in its results. It is striking to see so strong an indigenous ministry so rapidly formed. I hope our anticipations may not be deceived, but that God will continue to bless the mission as He in His mercy has hitherto done. There were 382 communicants.

'The afternoon native service was at 4, but I could not attend it. English evensong was at 6, at which all the station, Dorunda included, was present. The native choir sang the canticles. I preached.

'I grieve to think that Colonel Dalton is leaving. There is mourning over the whole of Chota Nagpore, in both missions, among natives and the official world. I never saw such universal regret, nor heard such universal expressions of affection and reverence. I trust that no trouble may follow his departure. I think he has ordered all things too well during his fifteen years' reign for there to be any disquiet afterwards, but they were at one time a rather disorderly set of people, and improvement was slow and gradual, before his work became so thoroughly efficient.

'The Mundas and Uraos seem now most simple and affectionate. I hope they will remain so. The settlement is nearly finished, and the principles for conducting it thoroughly ascertained and steadily carried out.

'The two languages correspond to the Santhali and Pahari, and are different in their roots apparently. Mr. Flex has published for Government an Urao Primer, and Mr. Whitley a Munda Primer, both good of their kind. The young Chota Nagpore Raja and his brother were visitors one day, and several fine-looking chiefs. A chief's school, on the plan of the Rajpoot

school at Ajmeer, seems desirable, but on a much smaller scale.

'The chiefs could hardly speak for grief as they came on their parting visit to the colonel. He had presents from the Ranis, who receive and admit his visits, a striking mark of confidence in India.

22nd.—'On Monday I visited the schools; they are boarding-schools for boys and girls.

'If sufficient funds can be raised, Government will make a grant. I must try what help can be got, having, I fear, exhausted my own resources.

'The schools seem remarkably well taught. I examined them to some extent, and they passed very satisfactorily. They do not aim at university preparation, and, under the circumstances, they are right. They want to train teachers, catechists, and future pastors and evangelists, and the "Entrance"[2] is a snare when this object is in view. But the knowledge given seemed very accurate and complete as far as it extended. The religious training for a Christian school was also very thorough.

'The scholars sang hymns, a glee, and "God save the Queen" very finely.

'The church and the mission-houses stand well, but the health of the missionaries[3] has not been all that could be wished. I believe on their journeys they are not careful enough of themselves, and I reproved them for their self-neglect, but I fear they are too self-denying. I trust that they will not over-work themselves, or suffer their ministry to rob them of their health and strength. I am also very hopeful that the native priests and deacons will do good service for Christ, and that their labours will be accepted and blessed by Him.

'It has been very pleasant to visit this mission, and to find how the missionaries labour in devotion and love for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the numerous faithful in this large district. There is distinctly a better promise of edifica-

[2] University of Calcutta. [3] One has died since.

tion than I have seen elsewhere. The skill of the master-builder is as much wanted as, and is more rare than, that of the first planter of the church. May God in His mercy pour out the abundance of His grace on all the labourers in this portion of His harvest.

'The German mission makes equal progress; both missions have more than they can do. The German missionaries have in three or four cases suffered from over-excitement, and gone home almost out of their minds. They work side by side peacefully on the whole, but the Germans take more political views than our civil officers quite like, and they have a considerable worldly following in consequence, which is not altogether satisfactory.

'Having thus completed this interesting visitation, we started on our return in the colonel's carriage, having sent forward our palkis. We overtook them about six miles on, and proceeded all night to Hazaribagh. There are only 100 soldiers there now, and the station looks rather deserted in consequence, but the place seems healthy. It is 2,100 feet above the sea, and is cool. The rainy season is pleasant here.

'The two large jails, English and native, require a stronger garrison, standing side by side as they do, and at some distance from cantonment. There is generally some disorderliness among the Santhalis, and there are many in the native jail. At present there are rumours of discontent in the neighbouring Santhalia.

'The European prisoners, some for life, all for long periods, are a difficult set to manage. The union of civil and military on different terms and conditions is alone disquieting, and the staff is very small.'

At the jail twelve men were confirmed, with the approval of the governor. 'The men were remarkably well-behaved; the chaplain had evidently taken great pains with them, but of course prison devotion must always have some doubtfulness as to motives.

'On Saturday I went over to Sitagarha, Mr. Liebart's tea plantation, where Mr. Bohn met me from Ranchi, and I confirmed 35 candidates. The little school-chapel was full; about 150 being present in all. The service was hearty and cheerful. I went through the village afterwards, which was clean and tidy. Mr. Liebart spoke highly of the Christian labourers. He takes a true interest in their welfare.'

The Bishop's opinion as to the admittance of prisoners to Church privileges is expressed in a letter to a chaplain who had charge of a jail: 'I do not think that the measure of judicial punishment is necessarily the measure of suspension from Church blessings. If, therefore, you are satisfied as to the preparation of men desirous of confirmation or communion, I do not see that you need reject them. . . . I suppose that the Lord's permitting Judas Iscariot to be present (as he was in my opinion) at the Lord's Supper, is a warrant that if a man is impenitent, and his sin is not manifestly known by outward act or profession, we may receive him as one of Christ's flock, even if he should prove immediately afterwards that he had deceived us.'

He wrote to England after this visit to the Kols: 'The work at Chota Nagpore is so overwhelming. May God hear the prayers of His people, and give the gifts of Apostles and Prophets, for we sorely need them.'

He arrived at Calcutta on March 3, with his sister, who had joined him at Ranchi, to remain through the hot weather. To his sister in England on his return he said, 'I must write oftener to you, if only to disabuse you of the idea that a letter from me implies illness in M——. We are not quite so cuckoo-clockish as that. I have returned with her from my tour in Chota Nagpore, where there is a large and flourishing mission among people called by strangers Kôls, by themselves Mundas, etc. I confirmed 1,548 candidates, which is a remarkable number as representing two years' work since my last visit. The country is pretty in parts, and the atmosphere was

delightful, as the place is about 2,000 feet above the sea. The journey, however, is tedious and tiresome, as you can only get on about three miles an hour in uncomfortable conveyances. Our Court migrates from Calcutta next week, so that our season will be very short, and will not recommence after Easter. I hope myself to be in Calcutta till midsummer. It is beginning to be hot unusually early this year, but we may perhaps have a storm to cool the air for some little time longer. We have started our Training Home for Nurses, but the two who have come out have not yet signified a desire to become Sisters, and the nucleus of a Sisterhood is what I want. There is much room for work of all kinds here, but unless I get the people from home, I cannot establish it on the footing which is desirable.

'I have just been reading Gladstone on the Pope in the *Quarterly*. It is very interesting and amusing. It is wonderful how in these days people can be found to Romanise, and people of ability. I think Gladstone is taking the right line, and that his publications will do good.

'I hope to be able, if spared so long, to run home and have a look at you all, and see also the new branches of the Milman tree which will be visible. My idea is to leave early in May, and get back early in November. I think G—— might meet us in Italy, where I want to see a little and get a little rest before I reach England, where I expect I shall not get much repose. Indeed I very much want to awaken men's interest in our mission work, and I shall have probably to visit the Universities, etc., during my stay.'

Again goes forth the cry for men, this time to Oxford. 'I am in desperate want of men, but still, with Bishop Patteson, would rather do without men than have unsuitable assistants. . . . I find that, at least in our Church missions, men from Oxford and Cambridge are the best workers, and the most devoted and successful. I have just returned from a visit to Ranchi and Chota Nagpore, where there are two University men. I want men for that mission, as the two there are working themselves well-

nigh to death, and I am very anxious about their health. Near Calcutta there is a large and rather hopeful field with a considerable Christian population, retrograding for want of European supervision, which I am unable to provide. Then again in Burma a bishop with one or two clergy is urgently needed, and a missionary bishop might be sent at once, without any of the legal difficulties which occur in India proper. Anyone who would prepare himself by a study of Buddhism, and the Burmese and Pali languages, would find a great opening for work there. British Burma alone is a huge field and very promising, for a *strong* mission. In Central India we have large open regions, where missionaries could be at once established. Of course if men would offer themselves who would come at their own cost, or provide their own funds, it would be an immense advantage, but if they would offer themselves to the S. P. G. or C. M. S. it would also be of very great service.'

He was very anxious to increase the accommodation at the hill schools for the education of the children of poorer civilians, clerks, railway employés, etc. He consulted several educational authorities, as well as those of the railway on the subject.

The scheme he proposed was to utilise the resources then available, so as to meet the general desire and needs of the class whom he wanted to benefit. He did not propose to build new schools, but to develop those already in existence, especially the one at Nynee Tal where the charges were low, and further to raise a sum of money by which scholarships of twenty rupees and ten rupees should be provided. The first would give practically free nominations, the other would provide half the entire cost of education at Nynee Tal. The late Archdeacon's Hill School Nomination Fund should be the nucleus of the endowment. If any parents or guardians could afford and prefer the other hill schools named by the Archdeacon, they might, by providing the additional cost, send their children to them. These scholarships should be divided between the different Governments which subscribe an equivalent to the Hill School

Fund. A committee or committees of Government officers and railway officials, with others if necessary, should receive applications and give the nominations.

There might be power to purchase free nominations for a sum down; as in the case of orphans or others left destitute, a sum can be raised at the moment, while a continued subscription cannot be obtained. The railway companies might subscribe to the fund, and have a certain number of nominations promised them. He thought that for such a cheap civilian school system, considerable subscriptions might be obtaind.

The Bishop set to work to raise money for this object. The Viceroy was much interested in the scheme, and contributed 10,000 rupees; the Bishop gave 1,000 rupees, and endeavoured to stir people up to take part in the plan. This educational scheme is spoken of in one of his last letters to his sister, and was one he was very anxious to carry out, but it was left to the care of his successor.

Another plan he suggested to the Government was to provide parsonage-houses for the chaplains: to buy or build houses in convenient situations and charge a rent for them, which would be no expense to the Government, in some cases where they had to give house allowance, even would be a saving and yet a great boon to the chaplains, who often had great difficulty in finding houses near the church, or indeed at all in some stations. In India it is far cheaper to buy a house than to rent one.

He was deeply grieved in April to hear of the serious illness of Bishop Douglas at Bombay, and of his being obliged to go to England. On the Bishop's visit to Bombay in 1870 he had contracted a great friendship with Bishop Douglas, and corresponded with him on many subjects after that period; 'a man of clear head, much courage and devotion, a real "Doughty Douglas" in the Church,' as he described him.

We give this farewell letter to Bishop Douglas, as it shows the great humility, which, with all his intellectual gifts, was a striking feature in Bishop Milman's character.

'Thinking that you were to start yesterday, I could only send a telegram to express my deep sorrow at the announcement contained in your letter of the 23rd. I felt thoroughly struck down by it for the time; as, though far apart, yet the comfort of your presence in India and the sense of your strength and wisdom, ready to assist in any difficulty or trial, were an unspeakable support to me, especially conscious as I am of a certain irresolution and vacillation of character which is a constant temptation to me.

'I hope and trust that your second letter, received to-day, gives us more eventual hope, but it is plain that the only thing is to seek for the best medical help in England without delay.

'I was on the point of writing to you about your charge, and many other matters, having been unable sooner to attend to them, when your letter arrived. I had heard that Mr. Copleston was preparing after some months to come to India, and was feeling that the young man's devotion was probably owing to your visit and addresses at home. I have been also hoping that our difficulties about the increase of the episcopate might be removed, and even if not legally taken away, that we might be able to act in the ensuing cold weather.

'Is there anything immediate, like ordination, which may require a visit from me to Bombay? Your chaplains will inform me if there is. I need not say that my most earnest prayer will be that you may be restored to us—in the meanwhile may our good Lord support you and Mrs. Douglas and your family under the great anxiety which has come upon you.'

In May he wrote home to a cousin, 'You said that you were contemplating a short Continental excursion, but will, I imagine, wait for summer weather. Germany and German scenery need sunshine, although the facility of travelling makes it less absolutely important than when I was moving in it more than thirty years ago, with nothing but Eilwagens to carry you at three miles an hour. . . . We seem to have got rid of our Gaekwar and his Lakshmi-bai in a higgledy-piggledy sort of a way, but

he is a good riddance in any way. We have also a small Burmese difficulty in our way. If we could only similarly oust the golden-footed kinglet, it would be a great benefit to his subjects and to our Burma and to the communication with China. I am all in favour of trying to make real friends with China; I do not see why we should patronise its rebels. Taepings and Panthays and this Yakub Khan, Yarkundi, seem all to me a bad lot, and I think it is a great mistake in any way to half-fraternise with them and make ourselves justly odious to China from want of thought and of due consideration. . . . I have got "Vaticanism" and Manning's reply, which I have only glanced at. He is the coolest hand at saying impressive nothings that I ever heard of. He was always deficient in accuracy and real knowledge, and yet always was or appeared to be unhesitatingly confident in himself. I see he has been promulgating wild history at Canterbury when consecrating the little papal church built there. I have been obliged to finish my article for the *Calcutta Review* with such materials as I had to hand. We are not strong in ecclesiastical reference books in Calcutta, not even in Hindu Shastras: hence I expect if there was any critic out here I should come to great grief, as Gladstone would say, get a "Thersites hiding" if there were any Ulysses to administer it. The grim humour of Gladstone's article on the Pope's speeches is one of the most striking things in the whole controversy. I had no idea he could be so cleverly ironical and so amusingly satirical. Is it yet known certainly who is the author of "Supernatural Religion"? It is very *slow* and a mass of fallacies, though with much book learning—a kind of Buckle, but only a brass buckle in comparison with the original. . . . Livingstone's last book was also rather a trial, though curious as his last. Our house for the Lady Canning Home is now finished, and is a very good building. If you were here I should ask you for a Latin inscription; as it is, we must be simple in the most concise English. Pray accept my congratulations on your re-election.'[4]

[4] As President of Sion College.

The article in the *Calcutta Review* mentioned in this letter was one on Infallibility,[5] which he had found leisure to write during this rather unusually long sojourn of three months in Calcutta. He had written one also for the April number of the same review; he found it a real pleasure, he said, to be able to once more use his pen, and this article on John Stuart Mill's posthumous work 'Three Essays on Religion,' is especially interesting as showing the attitude of the Bishop's mind towards one who was intellectually at least one of the greatest of modern sceptics.

It is impossible to read this paper without being struck by the deep sympathy which breathes through it, the fairness and even tenderness of the criticisms, and the pity of one strong in his own faith for the man himself who, of an essentially religious mind, had cut himself off from all spiritual comforts, and bound himself down by the iron chains of his pitiless logic to this earth alone for the satisfaction of all the yearnings and aspirations of his sensitive and passionate nature. The Bishop evinced a just appreciation and a generous admiration of Mill's wonderfully clear and cogent reasoning throughout these essays, while he lays great stress on 'the strange expression of hope, not apparently in perfect agreement with the logical development of his argument which comes out with surprising force in the last essay,' and he cannot help observing in them 'a witness and support of the Christian faith both in their negative and positive conclusions.'

This article, almost the last published writing that came from the Bishop's pen, is short but very remarkable. From its only appearing in the *Calcutta Review*, it is within the reach of but few readers in England. It is therefore given in the Appendix,[6] as it will give the reader some idea of the Bishop's power of expressing himself on such subjects, which from the absence of all reports or notes of his numerous lectures and addresses has been very difficult to give in this Memoir, yet

[5] Review of two Pamphlets by the Right Hon. W. Gladstone.

[6] See Appendix B.

without which the picture presented would be but an imperfect one.

In another letter home the Bishop speaks of the Revivalism movement in London, 'As to Moody and Sankey, the most serious part of the matter seems to me their insisting on the necessity and certainty of instantaneous conversion, which makes sad those whom God makes not sad, and glad those whom God makes not glad . . . yet the sensation made is doubtless strong whether for good or evil, and hearts seem to be moved, whether permanently or not I cannot of course say. The little we had of this sort of thing (in Calcutta) did more harm than good as far as I can tell.'

He sent kind words of sympathy to one of his hard-working clergy. 'I can feel for your grief and vexations. I have a heavy burden and load myself of manifold troubles and disappointments at this present time. I feel rather tempted at times to run away. They have come upon me also out of what I imagined were very hopeful beginnings, and my heart is sadly sore. But I am persuaded that there is One who knows better than we do how His work is to be done, and who undeserving (whereas we are deserving) endured the contradiction of sinners against Himself. I only wish I did my work as faithfully as you do yours, and I should be of better spirit than I am. However, we have David's saying, "Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel, and after that receive me with glory. Whom have I in heaven but Thee, and whom do I desire on earth in comparison with Thee?" I think we must expect trials and difficulties of a peculiar kind. A wave of revivalism will probably soon be surging round us, and assaulting the ancient landmarks with a strange mixture of good and evil, which it is difficult to measure, and I fear impossible to manage. We must bear up under it, and turn it to as much good as we can. I am always thankful when you are good enough to impart any of your troubles to me, especially, you may be sure, if it relieves you in any way by sympathy and fellow-feeling.'

To another at Delhi he says, 'I am sorry that the Rampura Christians are causing you anxiety. The "Barrack idea" is still too much engrained in the native Christian mind. It can only be overcome and extinguished by patience. They must give up the idea of secular advantage. The operation of introducing the sense of this necessity will probably be painful to people and priest, but it must be faithfully carried through.

'I have had some talks with Sir William Muir on the subject of the Hindustani Prayer-book, on which he seemed to feel strongly. He thought it should be made more idiomatic, that is to say more Persian and Arabic, more akin to the higher Hindustani, as it may be called. And this, I suppose, would suit you at Delhi and in the Punjab, but would it suit the more Eastern and Southern regions? Would not a nearer approach to Hindi, and the use of words and idioms from the Sanscrit be more useful in those parts? . . . The best way will be to have a conference next cold weather in Calcutta, when we could have the advantage of Sir William's presence, and of that of some representatives of the Societies in the secretaries, and of the missionaries competent to give advice, either the nearest or others selected by the corresponding committees to come for that purpose to Calcutta. In the meanwhile you may be gathering in writing the opinion, say, of persons like Hughes, Clarke, Hill, etc., and also that of the native clergy in different parts of the diocese.'

In a letter on the same subject, he says: 'It is very desirable that theological terms should take a definite and distinct and permanent shape. A thorough consideration of this point by competent scholars in communication with the common average members of their congregations or pupils is a great want.'

A complete revision of the Prayer-book in Hindi was also proposed, and he says, 'There is so much difference in Hindi that it may be desirable to have an up-country Hindi Prayer-book

and a Chota Nagpore Prayer-book, independent of each other, although if one Prayer-book will do no doubt it would be preferable.

'It is desirable that the various services should be separable, and yet admit of being bound up together. The ordination service should be incorporated. The Psalms, I suppose, would not be part of the Prayer-book. I prefer much myself the 'Gisu Christ,' as we have it also in Bengali. But this is one of the details with which I suppose the committee would be competent to deal.

'There are one or two other matters of no great moment, such as a new preface to the confirmation service, etc., on which in view of our real circumstances and the position of the converts, I should like to communicate my ideas to the revising committee before they begin operations.'

In reference to the new Lectionary he writes to a chaplain retiring from the service: 'I am rather amused at your idea that I might hesitate to give you the usual certificate because you object to the new Lectionary. It really is a question in which a difference of opinion is both easy and justifiable. I do not think the new arrangement meets my ideal, although it is on the whole better than the old. Many improvements are conceivable, and very likely will be made. I myself cannot see the veiled rationalism which you perceive at the base of the alteration, but very likely your eyes are sharper than mine. At all events I can gladly bear witness to your long and patient labours in trying and difficult stations, to the soundness of your faith, and the high character which you have always maintained, and to the consideration which you have always shown to my advice except in this one point. I have, believe me, a great respect for that straight and consistent Anglican churchmanship, of which I consider you an example. It has really been the great motive power in the late revival of devotion and Christian life at home. The younger people now seem to me to lack the simplicity, energy, and self-denial which

characterised it; and to have more fuss than fire, and demonstration than devotion.'

He felt it his duty to urge upon the Government the necessity of taking some notice of the course adopted by American Presbyterian ministers in marrying people contrary to the English law—in marrying, for instance, a man to his deceased wife's sister. 'The laxity,' he wrote, 'of views entertained by ministers of different denominations (especially if not of English origin) may occasion considerable evil with respect to the celebration of marriage, unless they are made to understand that, on this matter, they must conform to the Acts of the Government, and to English law, at least, as regards British subjects, unless otherwise authorised by the Government of India. I have myself pressed on the attention of the clergy under my authority the great need of care, and of the strict observance of the rules laid down for marriages among British subjects and members of the Anglican Church in this country, where there are many temptations to carelessness, and to consequent illegalities in the matter of marriage, which may have very serious and unhappy consequences. . . .

'The English law of marriage is generally applicable in India, at least to British subjects. For security I have laid the matter before the Government, and if Government should consent, I have requested that all registrars may be advertised of the necessity of acting legally and of the danger of acting illegally. . . .

'The more our Church laity feel that when Church clergy are wanting, they ought themselves to exercise the universal Christian priesthood within proper limits, instead of making use in an uncomfortable way of the ministers of various denominations, the better for themselves, for the Church, for the aforesaid ministers, and for the cause of our dear Lord in general.'

In consequence of these representations, the Government issued a notice, warning ministers of religion and marriage registrars that the Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872 gave

them no authority whatsoever to solemnise marriages, otherwise than in accordance with the law of the country where the parties were domiciled.

The Bishop applied to Government also to advise the High Court of the inexpediency and danger of the practice of granting licences for marriage simply on the affidavits of the parties applying without any verification, or means of verification.

'The best safeguard against improper applications for licences is to be found in the knowledge that they will have to be made to surrogates or to district registrars within their district.'

In the case of marriages of divorced persons: 'There may be cases in which such a marriage might with some reason be thought necessary, but I do not think that the Church's blessing ought to be conferred upon it. The possibility of such marriages is an act of the State, and the State provision for marriages ought to be used in such cases. I mean a civil marriage before the registrar which it offers.'

In regard to one particular case he said: 'The best way would be for the parties to get married before the registrar, and seek God's pardon and forgiveness afterwards. They ought to suspend themselves from communion for a period of two years, and then seek readmission to it, which might be given. The question is both distressing and difficult. It is dangerous in any way to condone public sin, it is also dangerous to drive anyone to despair.'

The Bishop remonstrated with the Government for compelling Anglican chaplains to bury Roman Catholics who had been excommunicated by their own Church; the Government accepted his view of the subject, and ceased to enforce their former rule.

He said, in reference to the case of a clergyman who had refused to bury a man, 'Experience shows that the refusal of Christian burial in extreme cases has a greater effect than any punishment in checking common crimes, and the opinion of

the military authorities in the case of the chaplain's refusal to bury Sergeant S——, shows that it would have been felt and understood to be a severe condemnation of drunkenness, and a clear demonstration of its vicious results.

'A funeral with military honours is even a more distinct mark of respect than an ordinary funeral, and therefore should be guarded with more than ordinary circumspection. It is certainly unbefitting in the case of suicide resulting from drunkenness, even though the verdict be temporary insanity. It is my firm conviction that the refusal of a military funeral in such cases would tend more than any other step to the repression of drunkenness in the army.

'I am ready to support any clergyman in refusing to officiate at the funeral of a man dying in notorious sin. But the case should be very clear, and the sin flagrant. We none of us know the effect of a deathbed repentance, or in how short a time Grace may work a change. The "penitent thief" is a case in point.'

He regarded the matter of ecclesiastical fees as belonging to the civil rather than to the spiritual authority, but at the desire of the Government, he gave his opinion on the subject, to the effect that there should be no fees for the performance of the sacrament of baptism, or for the rite of burial, or for the registration of the same. For marriage by licence, except in the case of the military, a small fee was desirable, also for monuments or mural tablets, but he recommended that a uniform rule should be adopted for the whole of India.

He approved of a Government rule which required notice of burials to be given to the custodian of a cemetery. 'Too much care cannot be taken to provide against the danger of secret interment. . . . Laws and rules, as is well known, must be drawn up as if everybody was tempted to commit every sin. The saying, "The law was not made for a righteous man, etc.," applies to human as well as revealed law.'

In reply to a missionary who was doubtful what rule to

enforce as to native Christians uncovering their heads in church, he gave it as his opinion that no change of custom about head-covering should be insisted on. 'St. Paul's rule seems made for his time, and not necessarily universally binding. See Hooker on "Apostolic Custom."'

On another point he adds: 'If you mean that in your case the language rule should be broken, I cannot agree. You must struggle on as a deacon prophet the best you can, and then I hope you will be ready for the priesthood. There is an inherent priesthood when *necessary* in all Christians. As when the Prince de Joinville put up his cross-handled sword and confessed his dying comrade. How much more in deacons. We have to evince our ministry first in "much patience."'

The Lady Canning Home for Nurses was opened, and the first stone of a new girls' school was laid by the Bishop during this hot season which he spent in Calcutta. The school was to be called the Pratt School, in memory of the Archdeacon.

In June he went to Darjeeling, from which place he made his way across country to Buxa and Cooch Behar, where he had as yet never been. At first he had very bad weather for the rides on horseback in the mountains, and in Cooch Behar he had to take to palkis which he said 'are dull, but safer than a series of duckings and dryings.'

Part of the road to Buxa through the *Sal* forest was very beautiful, 'the varied outline and steep sides of the hills, the richness of the vegetation, the great green hollows, the mountains towering above, make a wonderful and striking scene, unlike any other scenery that I have seen in India; perhaps one side of Pachmari bears the nearest resemblance. . . . It was striking, as the gloom descended by degrees, and the forest involved us. I saw no beast of any kind. There are about the country tigers, rhinoceros, elephants, buffaloes, bears, and deer. The mahout of the elephant on which I was riding was full of stories of *shikar*,[1] but I saw nothing.' The weather was very

[1] Sport.

trying, the heat great, and the travelling difficult, especially across the country to the Brahmaputra, on which river he was to find the yacht and a steamer ready for his voyage to Assam and Cachar.

It had been arranged, unfortunately as it proved, that his sister should come up in the yacht to meet him, as on the passage up the river Brahmaputra she fell ill with jungle fever. There was no doctor on board, and instead of the voyage being a rest to the overworked Bishop, he had in addition to his visitation work the whole time he was in Assam this great anxiety of his sister's illness.

The rains had not come down as usual, and the heat was excessive, the thermometer 97° and 98° day and night on the yacht.

He took his sister back to Calcutta as soon as they were within reach of it by railway, and leaving her in the care of kind friends, returned to finish his visitation of Cachar and Eastern Bengal.

In Cachar he made great endeavours to get the planters to provide a clergyman for themselves. A committee was formed at Silchar, for the town and districts, to collect subscriptions. He went one expedition to some tea-gardens in boats: 'the boats were large, the stream nil, and our progress slow. The tea hills with the mountains beyond are very beautiful, now that the flood makes lakes in every direction. We had much conversation everywhere about "the minister." Many subscribers are Scotchmen, but all seemed inclined to join for a sensible University Anglican clergyman. He must have powers of locomotion and tact.'

This plan was followed up successfully, and the Bishop was able in the cold weather to send up a clergyman for whom the planters had contributed suitable provision.

'The planters altogether are said to be about 340 in Cachar. There are several in Sylhet.'

The Bishop had been requested by the Chief Commissioner

of Assam to ascertain the number of half-caste children, with a view to starting some scheme of education for them. The Bishop was appalled at what he says 'is a startling revelation' —the fearful amount of immorality disclosed; but in a truly loving spirit he writes, 'The planters seem anxious for help and assistance to overcome themselves. I trust that some will marry by degrees with English wives, and then it is to be hoped the evil will disappear.'

'May God in His mercy accept the desires, and bless the better purposes of His servants in their manifold and special temptations to which they must from circumstances be exposed.'

At Burisal 'a native gentleman came to see me. He is a Brahmo, and gave me a curious account of the family persecutions which he had to endure on his "conversion." His elder brother was at Likotia, an hour's drive from Burisal, his younger brother at Christ's, Cambridge. It is a Brahmin family. The father was a very eminent advocate, and left a large fortune. The mother was wealthy, and is still alive at Likotia, about fifty-five years of age. She has excommunicated her children and endeavoured to deprive them of her property. He is to come and see me in Calcutta. The brother was at St. Xavier's, and was there converted to Roman Catholicism; now why is he gone to Cambridge?'

On this tour he had visited more than thirty stations, chiefly for the purpose of holding services at places where there was no chaplain, and in these three months he had held eight confirmations, had consecrated two new churches and several cemeteries, had given addresses to soldiers, and a lecture to the educated natives at Cooch Behar.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1875.

Visitation of the Punjab—All Saints' Day at Rawul Pindi—Consecration of Cawnpore Memorial Church—Return to Calcutta—Ordination—Visit of Prince of Wales to Calcutta—Sermon at Cathedral—Visits Kishnagar—Observes on too much Caste among the Christians—Letter from Rev. J. Vaughan—Letter to a Chaplain.

AFTER a stay of two days the Bishop left Calcutta on September 10 for the Punjab, stopping at Allahabad not only to consecrate the native church, but also, he said, to *feel* again the wretchedness of the church-accommodation for soldiers, that he might speak strongly to the Viceroy on the subject at Simla. Everyone at Simla was full of the expected visit of the Prince of Wales to India in the cold weather. The Bishop said that wherever he went, 'All India he found literally and metaphorically varnishing up in readiness for the Prince's advent.'

He himself was to return to Calcutta before the Prince arrived, to show his respect for royalty. To do this he would be obliged to leave his visitation of the Punjab for the present unfinished, but he accepted the arrangements the more readily inasmuch as he had been told on his last visit in 1873, that March was a better time to visit Peshawur for his work among the soldiers. This arrangement, however, led to the unfortunate rapid journey in February, 1876, direct from the heat of Calcutta to the cold of Peshawur, which it is supposed caused his death; a journey which would have been impossible a few years before, when the railway did not go beyond Delhi.

At Simla the contemplated visit of the Prince of Wales was

discussed with the Viceroy with regard to Sunday and Christmas observance. At Simla the Bishop left his sister to recruit her strength, and went on with his chaplain.

This tour in the Punjab proved to be one of much exposure and fatigue. The rivers were swollen, the roads were bad, and 'horses, etc.,' he said, 'seem to wax scarcer and travelling to become more difficult when off the main lines of communication.' But still he went bravely on, writing to his sister, 'Kangra was looking more beautiful than ever. The approach from Hoshyapore and the Dera bungalow road is the finest thing I think in India, if we exclude Kashmeer.' A little later, 'We have at last reached Dalhousie, after a tedious and difficult though not dangerous journey. The rivers were a good deal out, and the road as far as Duneira broken and slippery. We had to be carried over one river, the Chokka, on a charpoy on the men's heads. I think if it had not been for my dignity, I should have stripped and waded myself.'

'The waters detained us six hours altogether, and the heavy rain made the men go slow, and the broken road obliged occasional walking, so that we were forty-two hours on the journey instead of twenty-four. . . . I had one rather troublesome steed going from Kangra to Dhurmsala, but he soon got into order, and carried me easily and pleasantly to the end of the stage. It is very unlucky to have to go to Sealkote twice. This will make me leave Dalhousie a day sooner in all probability, to allow for the run to Sealkote and back from Wuzirabad terminus.' This year the Bishop made the journey from Dalhousie to Madhapur down the river Ravee, on masaks (inflated skins), which was said to be a very rapid way of descending the mountain through beautiful scenery. He describes it as—

'11th.—A very rough and steep journey on horseback of twelve long miles to Sindhara. The last three miles a staircase to the river-side. There we found a small bungalow which the General had kindly furnished for us, and where he had provided dinner and breakfast.

'12th—We slept there, and started about 7 o'clock on "drays" or charpoys,[1] on two large masaks, with another before and behind, bearing our living oars. The distance is forty miles. We had six portages which were tiresome, and stopped once for the men to feed. We were about five hours and a half altogether, so that the stream must average about nine miles an hour. Two castles on the cliffs with arched rocks and wooded crags, mostly dark purple and yellow, with the rushing river, made the voyage interesting on the whole, but I do not think I should care to make it a second time. We did not get out at Shahpore, but went on to Madhapur, and missing the right channel, had to carry the masaks. We arrived about half-past 1 P.M., and waited in vain for our luggage and servants, which had been sent round by road. These did not appear, so I left Jacob behind and went on (as I was due at Sealkote) to Umritsur, seventy miles, by gharri.'

This visit to Sealkote, which was not on his original programme, was made in consequence of the movement of troops for the Camp of Exercise. The soldiers who had been prepared for confirmation would have left Sealkote before the Bishop's usual visitation in November. He thought confirmation was often a turning point in a young man's life. As a parish priest he had himself always taken the greatest pains in preparing candidates for it, and now with his great care and love for the British soldier, regardless of his own convenience, he travelled for nearly two whole days and one night to Wuzirabad, expecting to find a carriage there to take him on the remaining twenty-eight miles to Sealkote. The only conveyance, however, he could procure was a common ekka, or small country cart, in which he proceeded, and arrived at his destination in the middle of the night, finding with some difficulty the chaplain's house and a tent, where he says 'I got a little sleep.'

Even the iron frame of the Bishop felt this strain, and

[1] Frame on four legs.

after the confirmation and Holy Communion for the soldiers the next morning, he owns that he 'was rather tired, but not at all sleepy, and with difficulty kept my nerves straight.' But instead of being able to rest after breakfast he started on the return journey to Wuzirabad on his way to Murree, which he reached on the morning of the 15th. In describing this journey to his sister, after telling how he got on, he adds, 'Rather courier-like, I have thus kept my time, but am robeless, and with no clothes save those on my back. I think I like travelling by myself better than with chaplain and servants and so much *dhundham*,[2] but the want of a few clothes is a difficulty. . . . Mr. Copleston who was coming out here, probably to Delhi, has degenerated into a bishop! It is a capital appointment from all accounts, though he is very young, but for our eastern bishoprics men ought to be consecrated young. They can then acquire the languages easier, and get acquainted with their work before it is time to give it up.'

19th.—A few days later, writing to his brother who had been walking over Exmoor with Mr. Copleston:—'I am amused at your walks with the Bishop-designate of Colombo. He will find his feet heavier in the Ceylon climate. It seemed to me rather more relaxing even than Bengal. I have had some rather hard travelling lately, but am none the worse for it. At present we have a spell of beautiful weather in the mountains, which facilitates locomotion wonderfully. The railways which were "smashed up" are nearly mended again now; for a time India was almost cut in half. Luckily I was making a detour which brought me behind the gap which the rivers had made, the Beas in particular, so that the floods did not interfere with my journey. We, that is, I and Jacob, came down forty miles of the Ravee on masaks, which was rather amusing. But by it we got parted from our luggage. I had consequently some loafer-like travelling for a time, all alone without servants or baggage. However I am sufficiently known not to be taken up for an

[2] Parade.

impostor. My robes were of the Bartholomew Fair style, rigged up for the occasions by the chaplains' wives. But we are not ceremoniously critical, and I did the best I could to look episcopal.' From Abbottabad—

'24th.—I have now reached the N.W. point of my journey, and am safe with Sir R. and Lady Pollock at the pleasant little station of Abbottabad. We had a pleasant ride enough from Murree, stopping at Khyra Gali, to confirm seventeen people and to consecrate a cemetery. There was a grand view of Nanga Purbut from that place. We then rode on to Dunga Gali, where, as it was dark, I was puzzled to find the parsonage, but at last discovered it on the mountain, and had a grand entertainment by Mr. Corbyn. On the morrow we had the consecration service for the pretty little wooden church. . . . I have had on some occasions to get up in rather queer costumes, as the unfortunate blue bag has been often in the rear. However, I have had it when it was absolutely wanted. I think a very light dress for church, which would go on a saddle or in one's pocket, might be contrived before another wild wandering. . . . We have certainly been tried about the Lady Canning ladies; we must, however, persevere, and trust that all will be right in the end. People think that when I put in a personal appearance at home, there will be no difficulty in obtaining recruits. I have doubts myself, as I am Indian; if I was African or Melanesian, it would be easier. However, we do our best, and that is all that we can do, as said the magnanimous Don Ferdinando. Two nice little boys of Sir Richard's add to the pleasure of the visit here.'

It is very sad to read these letters, with allusions to his possible visit home, written shortly before he reached Rawul Pindi, the place to which in the course of a few months he returned to die.

It is impossible, however, not to feel that all the toil, and fatigue, and exposure to weather, told on even his great strength, though he appeared to bear them well, and, as he said

in one of his letters, 'to rough it better than his chaplain,' and that the constant strain undermined his vigour, and prepared the way for the disease which seized him at Peshawur.

All Saints' Day was passed at Rawul Pindi, where a few months later he entered into the full Communion of Saints, and the soldiers whom he now confirmed then followed him to his grave.

He speaks in his journal of the kindness he received from Colonel Montgomery Moore and his wife, a daughter of Lord Seaton, 'a very earnest and devout lady,' and of 'the excellent order of Colonel Moore's regiment, the 4th Hussars, and of the apparently admirable results.'

It was to their great kindness he was indebted for much loving care in his last illness, when he was brought to their house from Peshawur.

December 2nd.—From Jullunder: 'I have had a good deal of work lately at Lahore and Umritsur, where there are important missions. I am now at a smaller and quieter place, where the missions being Presbyterian do not give me so much to do. There is an able native Presbyterian minister here, named Golick Nath, a man of good position and caste, whose daughters have married well, and are more like Christian ladies than most other native Christian females. One married the Rajah of Kupporthollah's brother. I am going on the 8th (D.V.) to open and consecrate the Memorial Church at Cawnpore. It has been long building, and the Cawnpore massacre is nearly forgotten. Some, however, are still interested in those who died, and in those who conquered there, and in the army that relieved Lucknow. Perhaps, therefore, we may have a fair gathering of people. The soldiers, indeed, of the cantonment, will all have gone to the Delhi Camp of Exercise; but as the church is not large, perhaps there will not be more than sufficient room as it is, especially as Lucknow is connected by rail with Cawnpore.'

'The Jacobite patriarch, who was so fussed about at home,

on the strength of his reception in England, is *looting* the poor Syrian Christians of Malabar. His letter, a translation of which has been forwarded to me, puts me in mind of the negro Methodist's sermon in "Peter Simple," except that the patriarch applies for rupees instead of plantains. In India we get behind the Oriental face, and beard, and robes, and learn a little of what they conceal. Our respect is not enhanced by what we find there.'

On December 10th.—'I have reached Benares on my way to Calcutta. I have just consecrated the Cawnpore Memorial Church, which is a beautiful but foolish building, too small for its style, and for the troops which it should accommodate, a miniature cathedral, with a triforium, etc., but which will not hold above four or five hundred people. It is "Lombardo Gothic," or something in that style. There was, for India, a large gathering of clergy and congregation, a decent choral service, and a luncheon afterwards; two speeches of three minutes, however, differentiate us from the prolixity of home festivals. I was interrupted by two troublesome diocesan matters whilst preparing my sermon, which made it unworthy the occasion. Mr. Snepp is, I trust, safe at Dibrogurh, and Mr. Kemp is coming to Cachar, so that the planters will not be so desperately without the ministration of the Word and Sacraments. Mr. Gothard is favourably spoken of from Ajmeer. I hope he will succeed also at Jeypore, and get the church finished. If these results follow, I shall be thankful that I went there.'

'I cannot get any answers from Government just at present. Tours are all the order of the day. Our Governors have become planets, and keep wandering about, I hope without losing their way. Their orbits are rather eccentric and irregular, and we lose time and patience in consequence. Let us hope they gain information and wisdom 'from seeing the cities and minds of many men.' I had interesting visits at Lahore and Umritsur, where there is some little movement and vitality of mission work. The Punjab is rather a curious mixture of a good deal

of Puritanism, and a good deal of licence. . . . You will have seen that the Prince was upset, but not hurt, in Ceylon. There must be a certain amount of risk run in the sport after larger game, either on the spot or *en route* to and fro; there is also some anxiety on account of fanatics whose morbid vanity is always rather dangerous to great men. However, let us hope that all precautions will be taken.'

The Bishop's sister, who had recovered her health, and rejoined him at Lahore, travelled with him as far as Cawnpore, and then went on to Calcutta to prepare the Palace for the guests they were to receive during the Prince's visit, the Bishop having offered to entertain some of the numerous officials who were expected to come down to receive the Prince. The candidates for the ordination on the 19th, however, were first to arrive at the Palace, and it was not till that was over that the Bishop could welcome any of the Viceroy's guests.

The Bishop returned to Calcutta on the 13th; the ordination was at St. Saviour's Church on the 19th; the service throughout being in Hindustani.

The Bishop was present at the landing of the Prince of Wales, and at some of the festivities in his honour. He attended also the Levee, where he presented the Armenian Patriarch.

The Palace was one of the many houses in that part of Calcutta which were illuminated in honour of the Prince.

On Christmas Day the Bishop preached at the Cathedral, but made no allusion to the Prince, who was present with the Viceroy. The sermon was an earnest and powerful appeal to Christians to set an example to the heathen. Every Englishman in India was a missionary, he became a minister for good or a minister for evil; by his life was Christ's teaching judged. Again on St. Stephen's Day he preached a beautiful sermon on personal influence, showing how much might depend upon each individual example. How little did St. Stephen, the first Martyr, think that his steadfastness even unto death would be

such an encouragement and strengthening to those around him.

The Palace was open to many guests that winter, one of whom spoke of it afterwards as the 'happy hospitable home,' and the soirée given by the Bishop was attended by many native rajahs and nobles from different parts of India who had come to Calcutta to welcome the Prince.

At a clerical meeting held about this time the Bishop said he thought a Church Synod would be very desirable for the diocese, as in India there is no available Church law. He and his clergy conformed as much as possible to the precedents afforded from home, but having sometimes to act independently, it would be advisable for them to act with unanimity. He thought something of the nature of a Conference might be tried first, and said he would consult the clergy in each of the large districts of the diocese, and ask them to nominate some one, through whom his wishes as regards the arrangements and the questions to be discussed might be conveyed to them.

In the middle of January he went down to visit the Kishnagar district, and there proved his great knowledge of the native mind, by detecting the too great retention of *caste* among the Christians.

One of the missionaries writes thence in 1878:—'I cannot say what a burden of care and trial I have endured for the last twenty months. My chief trouble has been the development, I ought to say *revelation*, of caste prejudices amongst our poor people, for in truth this is nothing new, but has all along existed under the surface from the very origin of the Mission. Various accidental circumstances have brought the thing to light, and it is now abundantly clear that for forty years past caste has been eating out the little life of the Church, and utterly preventing its growth and expansion. Two years and a half ago the Bishop actually laid his finger upon the hidden evil, and accounted for the feebleness of the Mission on that ground. No one before, as far as I am aware, ever divined that *caste* was the *root evil*.

'In the church book at Bolluckpore at the end of his record in January 1876, is this sentence, "the Church has come to be looked upon as a kind of *jat*,[3] which is well enough in its way, and may be acquiesced in, but not 'wondered at,' or attractive to others." Truly I felt the Bishop was a true prophet, and he being dead yet speaketh.'

The Bishop, writing to one of the chaplains who had a service for the natives at his station, says, 'I am very thankful that you have the Hindustani service. It is a great comfort when chaplains do not neglect their real missionary duties, and prepare themselves by their own labour for them. But do *not* attempt any out-of-the-way ritual for the natives. It is not good for them. I have thought over this point somewhat carefully, and am confident that any excess of ritual is dangerous, as the native Christians are only too much inclined to rest in a formalism of some shape or other.'

[3] Caste.

CHAPTER XXV.

1876.

Miss Hoare's Arrival at Calcutta—Sixtieth Birthday—Visits Taljhari—Goes to Pindadan Khan—Peshawur—Letters to his Sister—His Illness—Death—Funeral—Epitaph—Memorials—Character—Letter from the Earl of Northbrook—M. Garcin de Tassy—Maharajah of Jeypore—Missionary Zeal—Development of Native Church.

IN January he welcomed Miss Hoare at the Palace. She was the first lady who had volunteered to go out to India on her own means to work among the Zenanas at Calcutta. This was a great pleasure to the Bishop, who trusted that it was only the beginning, and that more would follow the first volunteer who had answered to his constant cry to those at home to come over and help.

On St. Paul's Day, when he completed his sixtieth year, some young friends sent him a basket of roses, which his sister carried into the library where he was writing. He spoke of his having made up his threescore years, and said that he must prepare for his end. He wrote to the givers of the flowers that he hoped that he might always have such kind friends to scatter roses on his pathway to the grave.

It seemed as if he had some foreshadowing of death, and yet it was most probably only the serious thoughts engendered by his having, as he said, fulfilled his threescore years. Yet his hair was visibly turning white, and he sometimes owned to being fatigued by the journeys he was obliged to take.

As early as 1874 he had described 'the perpetual travelling as both weary and unsettling work. However, it has to be done,

and I hope results in some fruit, although it is naturally difficult to see it.'

The results were visible to other eyes in the spiritual growth among both clergy and laity, which during the nine years of his episcopate was very marked.

In February he went down to Taljhari for two days' work among the Santhals, but returned immediately to Calcutta, where he had a great press of business, as he was endeavouring to arrange many important matters before he went to England, which he hoped to do on his return from the Punjab. He said to his sister, who had wished him to give up this journey, 'If it were not for Peshawur, I would, there is so much work here to be done; but Peshawur is one of the largest military cantonments and has an important mission. If I do not go now, I do not see my way to going there for at least two years;' and he went, to return, alas! no more.

He had been asked to include Pindadan Khan, a very remote place and difficult of access, in his hurried visit to the Punjab. He never refused a call for work if it could possibly be done at any expense of his own strength and convenience. This expedition entailed much extra labour, and much exposure to weather on the river and the road.

The Bishop left Calcutta on the evening of February 11, and spent Sunday at Mirzapore, from whence he wrote to his sister, who had been unwell, and proposed that she should come there to stay with his kind hosts, 'who have a pleasant house and garden with a beautiful view up and down the Ganges, which is there a well-behaved river, and the spot is healthy.'

Starting thence on Sunday evening, the 13th, he travelled, without stopping except for meals, to Pindadan Khan in the Punjab. The journey was unusually fatiguing from the state of the country owing to the heavy rain which had fallen, and instead of arriving at Pindadan Khan on the 16th, as he had intended, he passed the night on the river Jhelum in a boat which had not been prepared for sleeping, and had not sufficient protection

against the weather. He did not reach Pindadan Khan till the 17th, having been exposed to much hardship increased by insufficient food.

In spite of this, however, the Bishop on the same morning attended a full service, confirmed six candidates and preached. He afterwards visited the salt mines, inspected schools, and got through other work before he went to rest at night. The next morning he left for Peshawur. It was a journey of two days and one night to Attock, where he slept. There, though unwell, rather than disappoint some officers of the Artillery who had invited him and his chaplain to dinner, he, with his usual thought for others, sent his chaplain to bed because he said he was the more tired of the two, and went himself to dine with the officers. The next day, being Sunday the 20th, though ill and suffering, he preached in the morning at Attock, and in the evening eighteen miles distant at Nowshera. On the 21st, after inspecting the church and cemetery and visiting the schools and hospitals at Nowshera, he proceeded to Peshawur.

In writing to his sister the journey to Pindadan Khan is only spoken of as 'rendered rather difficult by the heavy rain. We had some trouble from sticking gharries and stumbling kahars[1] in getting to Chilianwallah and Mounj, the battlefields of Sikhs against English, and of Porus against Macedonians. The cemetery at Chilianwallah is a striking spot and looks over the battle-field. I cannot make out where Lord Mayo's cross is to be erected.

'We had to go down the river by night, which made the voyage tedious, and we did not reach Pindadan Khan till the morning of Thursday. The voyage rested me a little, as there was no shaking, only some bumping on sand-banks.

'I had a pleasant visit on that day, as I liked Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson, whose little girl took a fancy to me. We explored the mines and lunched with the manager. They are certainly very striking.

'I feel in some difficulty about the Indian Bishops' consecra-

[1] Palki-bearer.

tion. The education business[2] also is a difficulty, but that I think can and must wait till money is collected and information digested.'

On the 22nd, from Peshawur: 'We reached here yesterday sooner than originally intended, and found the Pollocks as kind and pleasant as before. I cannot say more.

'We are shivering here with cold, and I suppose shall shiver while at Peshawur, but it is a pleasant and airtight house for India.'

The same day he wrote to his brother in England: 'I have reached this western extremity of my diocese to complete the visitation which was interrupted by my enforced return to Calcutta before the middle of December.

'I had to take it up where I left off, and therefore find myself here in the middle of winter, and wintry winds and showers that remind me of the Berkshire downs early in March. . . . I have had rather a sharp journey, as I was pressed for time, when I was asked to add to my programme. I have been again visiting the salt mines of Pindadan Khan, which are very striking and beautiful when lighted up for any visitor of importance. The reddish rock salt, the crystal veins, the strange lights and shades, and the chambers and domes above other chambers and domes, have a strange and startling and grand appearance. I find the Kohat Pass stopped through the ill-behaviour of some of the Afreedis, so that I shall have to circumvent it by dropping down the Indus from Attock to the other side, at a place called Kushal Gir.

'I rather doubt whether we shall have a comfortable or easy journey, as the rides are rather long, and the country rather desolate. . . .

'I shall, I am afraid, miss Lord Northbrook much; he was very trusty and very helpful in many ways which others shrink from treading. . . . I am not able to *reckon* on a visit home, but am trying to get ready for it.'

[2] His scheme for promoting the education of the poorer Europeans.

Alas! that visit to England so long thought of was never to be fulfilled, and the seventh Bishop of Calcutta was destined to die as his predecessors, with one exception, had died before him without once again seeing their native land; 'a halo of glory,' as Dr. Vaughan said, 'surrounding the See, for the bishops had all died at their post.'

His last letter to his sister was written on the 26th, with no word of his being unwell, only directions as to some business he wished her to attend to, and 'We have had a good rest here, and do not start till Monday morning, when I trust that we shall get on safe and comfortably to Kohat and Bunnoo. That is the only difficult bit of travelling. All the rest is easy enough.'

The journal of his last days' work on earth is written by another hand than his own—by the Rev. T. P. Hughes, who was at Peshawur at the time.

'There are few places more interesting and attractive to both chaplain and missionary than Peshawur. The fine English church, with its fair proportions, filled as it is every Sunday with overflowing congregations of soldiers, and the large European community who reside at the station, are a most important charge for a Government chaplain, whilst the striking peculiarities of the Afghan character, together with the fact that Peshawur may be said to be the door to Central Asia, make it a position of engrossing interest to the missionary evangelist.

'It was as such that the Bishop regarded it. Eight years before, when the station was for a short time deprived of both its chaplain and its missionaries, the Bishop, who happened to be at the Murree Sanitarium in the hills, proceeded at once to Peshawur, even during the hottest and most trying season, to take charge himself of so important a station. To one whose constant effort it was to unite in himself the minister to the European, and the missionary to the native, Peshawur was a place of very special interest.

'Arriving, as the Bishop did, after an almost continuous journey of fifteen hundred miles, he necessarily found himself

compelled to devote some time to the arrears of official correspondence which awaited him. Although already suffering in some degree from illness, he commenced his work at Peshawur with that zeal and energy for which he was so remarkable.

'On February 24th, he celebrated Holy Communion in the station church, catechised the children of the regimental schools, visited the military hospitals and addressed the patients, delivered an address at a soldiers' meeting, and afterwards spoke a few words in Hindustani at the native service. The next day he attended the mission church and confirmed thirteen native candidates, delivering two addresses in Hindustani. He visited the native Christian cemetery, and although much fatigued by the duties of the morning, went some distance on foot to speak a few words of consolation to a bereaved Armenian family belonging to the mission congregation.

'In the evening he accompanied the missionaries (Messrs. Hughes and Jukes) to the city, and for an hour stood upon the steps of the preaching chapel in the market-place, listening to the preaching of the Reverend Imam Shah, whom he had ordained a few years before. The Bazar preaching over, the Bishop went to the usual mission evening service, and united in prayer with the little native Christian flock.

'On the 26th, he held a confirmation for European candidates in the station church, where he delivered two most impressive addresses, and in the evening he was to have delivered a lecture on "Decision of Character" to the educated natives, but the missionaries postponed it on account of his illness.

'The following day being Sunday, he was at both the native and English services, and celebrated Holy Communion. In the evening he preached an earnest sermon on behalf of the Church Missionary Society, and alluded to the valuable lives which had been sacrificed in the mission cause at Peshawur.

'On Monday morning it was evident that the exertions of Sunday had told much upon the Bishop, and most earnestly did his kind host urge him to cease from further work for the

time; but he had made an important engagement to be present at the educational durbar or prize-giving at the mission school, which he felt he must do his best to keep. This school is erected on the site of an old Durani palace, and the durbar is held in a quadrangle which, thirty years ago, was occupied by the Zenana of Sardàr Peer Mohammed, an uncle to the present Ameer of Cabul.

'There was an unusual number of Afghan chiefs present on this occasion. Some of them had travelled a distance of at least fifty miles in order to meet the "Chief Moulvie" of the Englishman's faith. All the members of the City Council were present, and crowds of strangers from Central Asia, then trading in Peshawur, were amongst the audience. Several of the European residents were present. The Bishop spoke in Hindustani, with much feeling and earnestness exhorting those present to think more of the things which pertained to the next world, and to live a spiritual life. Each of the leading personages amongst the natives was presented to the Bishop, who shook hands heartily with them all. The Bishop's Hindustani address was his last official act.

'From the school he returned to Sir Richard Pollock's house. He took to his bed; the last five days' exertion had told sadly upon him. He had literally "worked himself to death" in the service of his Divine Master. To use his own words, "he was determined that, as far as he was concerned, at any cost, and at any sacrifice, India should be won to the Lord Jesus."'[3]

On the Sunday, the 5th of March, the Bishop was prayed for in all the churches throughout the diocese, messages having been sent by telegraph. At his own request, he received the Holy Communion, the missionary clergy receiving it with him. He then rallied somewhat, and hopes being entertained of his recovery, his sister, who was in Calcutta, was unfortunately stopped by telegraph from going to Peshawur. The Bishop was moved to Rawul Pindi, a station about a hundred miles from Peshawur

[3] He had dictated them at the school.

and thought to be a more healthy place. At first it was hoped that he had really benefited by the change, but on the 11th he had a relapse and gradually grew worse.

On Sunday the 12th he received the Holy Communion, and in the evening asked his chaplain if he was dying, as he wished to say one or two things about the diocese.

That morning he told his native servant that his sister had started to come to him, and 'in four days she will be here;' and the next morning he said again, 'in three days she will be here;' but alas! though she had left Calcutta before he had had the relapse, and had travelled four days and three nights without stopping, delayed after the railway was left by the bridge over the Jhelum being broken, she who had been his faithful companion for eighteen years was not in time to close his eyes. It was a sore trial to one who was so devotedly attached to her brother, to be in the same country, and yet not to have been permitted to be with him in his last hours.

The Bishop's mind wandered a little, and he repeated Hindustani prayers. His last moments are thus recorded by Mr. Jacob:—

'15th.—At 7 A.M. the Bishop revived a little, and was quite conscious. On my asking him if he remembered the words "The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms," he replied, "Yes, eternal God, refuge," and he gave signs of acceptance. I then said slowly such other verses as "God so loved the world," "I know whom I have believed," "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." Finding he was following me, I began the 130th Psalm. "Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord; Lord, hear my voice," and he immediately took it up, and said the second verse himself, "O let Thine ear consider well the voice of my complaint." I said the third verse, "If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide by it," and the Bishop responded, "For there is mercy with Thee, therefore shalt Thou be feared." I then finished the Psalm, and the Bishop said the

Gloria Patri himself. I knelt down, said the first Collect in the Visitation Service, the Lord's Prayer, and "The Grace," the Bishop repeating the Lord's Prayer, and saying "Amen" after the other prayers, gently raising his hand to cover his eyes. A few minutes afterwards he was heard saying, "The creature itself shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God." Then, looking up, he said, "When shall I be delivered from this bondage?" "Soon," was the reply. "How soon?" said the Bishop eagerly. "Very soon," was the answer, and the Bishop murmured quietly, "The glorious liberty of the children of God." Then a few words in Hindustani, and he passed quietly away.'

His sister, who had not been permitted to see him alive, laid him in the grave the next morning, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection from the dead.

It was a simple and touching Christian funeral. Carried on a gun-carriage to the church and cemetery, the coffin was borne reverentially to its last resting-place by soldiers, and after the beautiful and comforting service was over, and the cross of flowers had been laid on the earth that enclosed him, the soldiers, some hundred of whom stood round, many amongst them having been confirmed by the Bishop a few short months before, sang his favourite hymn 'Jesus lives.'

Thus the grave closed on one for whom all India mourned. His bereaved sister met with universal sympathy, for all felt her loss to be their loss, and shared her grief.

Many memorials have been erected in his honour, but the sorrow felt and expressed by high and low was the most touching tribute to his memory; 'The friend of the poor,' as he was lovingly called by one of themselves.

His living memorial will be the increase of spiritual growth amongst those who knew him, and felt the influence of his noble example, his self-sacrifice, and devotion to his Master's service.

It was decided, that in recognition of the Bishop's public

services, the Government should erect a monument in the Cathedral, an honour never paid to any previous bishop. For this monument an epitaph was written by Sir Arthur Hobhouse, one of the Members of Council.

Its lines are full of meaning to those who have read the journals of much labour and many journeys of him who, born on St. Paul's Day, was full of that Pauline energy and burning zeal which carried him through all trials, through any toil, if it was for the saving of souls.

SÆPE VERSATUS IN ITINERIBUS
IN PERICULIS FLUMINUM SOLITUDINE MARIS
IN LABORE ET FATIGATIONE
IN VIGILIIS SÆPENUMERO
IN JEJUNIIS FREQUENTER
IN QUOTIDIANÂ OMNIUM ECCLESIARUM CURÂ
OPES VIRES VITAM DENIQUE
DEO HOMINIBUSQUE DICANS
DEDIT NON PERDIDIT.

The glory of God and the saving of souls was indeed his one sole aim and desire. To this great cause he unweariedly devoted himself in a spirit of utter self-abnegation that never faltered nor failed. Among the wild downs of Berkshire, in the poor and populous parish of Marlow, and again in the wider sphere of India, he pursued his missionary labours with a zeal that knew no respite, labouring incessantly for others, if only he might extend Christ's kingdom on earth, might implant the seeds of a higher life in the flocks committed to his charge, might confirm or comfort the fainting heart.

By nature addicted to literary pursuits, and keenly sensitive to the attractions of social intercourse, he held all these things as nothing when set in the balance against the work that he had set before him, and he would abandon them without a thought to force his way through frost and snow to some distant cottage lecture or service, or to undertake a laborious journey of many days and nights; and all was done as the merest matter of course, without any consciousness of sacrifice.

To this entire absence of self-consciousness was due too, in

part no doubt, the extraordinary influence of his preaching. He spoke from the abundant treasures of his mind and heart without a thought for effect, and the words went straight to the hearts of his hearers. For the first ten years of his ministry, his sermons were carefully studied and written; after that period they were always extempore, fluent, original, and striking. The same eloquence was equally apparent on every occasion on which he was called upon to speak. He was never at a loss for fit language in which to convey the thoughts to which he wished at the moment to give utterance.

A slight but characteristic illustration of the spirit in which every work was undertaken, 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might,' may be found in the perseverance which enabled him to obtain such a mastery over many of the native languages. Entering upon their study at a time of life when the acquisition of such knowledge would to many have been most irksome, he yet worked at the rudiments of grammar and put himself into the hands of teachers like the veriest schoolboy. A saying of one of those teachers that 'The Bishop had learnt more about the theory of the irregular verbs than any previous pupil in so short a time,' was often repeated among his friends.

If his labours were abundant not less abundant was his almsgiving. His hand was ever open to the relief of distress and for the furtherance of the many good works that he promoted, and he continued in India the practice, which, as we have seen he had adopted in early days, of devoting to Christ's service in His Church and in His poor a large portion of his income.

He had felt in some degree oppressed when he first landed in India, by the great responsibility laid on him in the charge of such a See as that of Calcutta, but he soon perceived that his duty, as he said, was to act up to the best of his judgment, and leave the result to God; and notwithstanding the great demands upon his strength, it is given to few men to be more

happy in their work than he was. Rarely cast down, even on some of his last and roughest journeys, his letters to his sister were still cheerful, and often full of playful humour. His life was indeed a proof that the truest happiness and contentment can be found in self-sacrifice and devotion to duty.

His death in the distant province of the Punjab had but too sadly proved the urgent necessity for its separation from the diocese of Calcutta. Again and again he had urged on the Government the need of a bishopric for the Punjab, but always in vain. Its foundation was now undertaken as a fitting public memorial to himself; and so ready was the answer to the appeal both in England and in India for this testimony to the honour in which his memory was held, that funds were raised for the endowment, the bishopric was created, and a bishop was enthroned at Lahore, before the second anniversary of his death had come round.

An episcopal visitation should be held once in three years, and in spite of the gigantic size of his diocese, the Bishop very nearly succeeded in achieving the task. The diocese had never been so thoroughly and regularly visited before. But it is difficult to exaggerate at what cost of physical fatigue and unceasing brain-work these tours were carried through. An uncompromising Churchman himself, he yet felt that Christians should, in spite of their unhappy divisions, present as united a front as possible to the heathen world without. It was for this reason he visited the missions not connected with the Church of England when their friends desired it. He discouraged party spirit within the Church, and without any forfeiture of truth drew together men of many minds. If only a man laboured earnestly, he was sure of the Bishop's care and sympathy.

He worked heartily with both the missionary societies. Though it might have been supposed that his theological sympathies would have inclined rather to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he co-operated zealously with the Church

Missionary Society also. We have the testimony of one who was their secretary for the first five years of his episcopate, 'that he and many other missionaries revered the Bishop as a true Father in God, who entered into their work with all the cordiality of a brother missionary.'

It was the Bishop's invariable rule to take no steps of importance without previous consultation with Government, and he won for himself the confidence and esteem of three successive Viceroys. The *Government Gazette*,[4] published the day after his death, contained a noble panegyric; and the following letter from the Earl of Northbrook, who was Viceroy during the last four years of the Bishop's life, is a valuable tribute to the general estimation in which he was held, and to his friendly relations with the Civil Government. Commencing as it does with a reference to his humility, it shows a just appreciation of the Bishop's character. 'My difficulty,' Lord Northbrook writes, 'is to avoid the use of more praise than the Bishop would have liked; for if my estimate of his character be correct, there never lived a man who was more modest and retiring, or who was more content to secure the spiritual and temporal benefit of others without any parade, or desire to bring himself prominently under notice. As regards the business transactions between the Bishop and the Government of India, they were very few during the four years when I was Viceroy. Such transactions mainly arise in consequence of difficulties in the distribution of the chaplains in the service of the Government, or concerning their conduct. It is a proof of the wise and just administration of this part of the Bishop's duties that so few such questions required the interposition of the Government. In the cases which did occur, I have a lively recollection of the spirit of tenderness and charity with which the Bishop dealt with them, and that the Government of India felt great confidence in his fairness and good judgment.

'I know not whether any particular allusion is made in the

[4] See Appendix C.

memoir to the indefatigable attention which the Bishop bestowed upon the spiritual and moral instruction of the British troops in India. But as this is an object of great importance towards the good government of India, it may not be out of place for me to express the high value which I myself (and I believe I can speak without hesitation for the members of the Council of the Governor-General) put upon the example which was set by the Bishop, in devoting himself to the promotion of everything that was of real service to the troops, whenever he visited a place where they were stationed. I do not think I am mistaken in my recollection that his last illness was aggravated by his devotion to his work at Peshawur. I know that both officers and the men of the army entertain a most grateful and affectionate recollection of his ministry. On all subjects affecting the welfare of the European and native inhabitants of India, the Bishop was among the foremost in giving wise counsel and active assistance. His journals, from which the memoir is compiled, will doubtless give ample proof of this. The education of the children of the poorer Europeans and Eurasians, and the provision of clergy for places to which the Government are unable to appoint chaplains, are two which occur to me out of the many excellent undertakings in which he took a leading part.

'One of the remarkable qualities of Bishop Milman was the largeness of view with which he regarded the work of a bishop in India. He extended his sympathy and advice to men—whether in or out of the Church of England—who differed widely from one another upon points of minor importance. He never exaggerated any such differences; on the contrary, his earnest desire seemed to me to bring all Christians together as far as was possible in a land where they form so small a part of the population. His deep study and accurate knowledge of the religious systems of India was of great use to him. He secured the respect and esteem of learned natives of India, who, although not Christians, appreciated his candour, and his earnest desire for their welfare.

'He extended his hospitality freely to all, and with his sister's affectionate and discreet assistance, he made Bishop's Palace at Calcutta an example of how much may be done to bring Europeans and Natives together in social intercourse, to their mutual advantage.

'The few remarks that I have made upon the character and work of the bishop, from the point of view from which it fell to my lot to watch him during four years, make it, I think, unnecessary for me to add any testimony as to the general sympathy which he inspired. The qualities he possessed, and the simplicity, earnestness, and self-sacrifice he invariably displayed, could not fail to secure the sympathy of others.

'The confidence that was felt in him while he lived, and the heartfelt grief with which the news of his premature death was received by all ranks and classes in India, form the best testimony to the success of his work. For my own part, I am indebted to him for much valuable and generous support, and I entertained for him feelings of sincere affection, coupled with a hearty admiration and respect for his character.'

One or two other testimonies coming from very different quarters may be added to those already adduced, to show how deep was the impression created by the Bishop's character, and how his death was felt by some as a private no less than a public loss.

M. Garcin de Tassy, the great French Oriental scholar, in his Revue Annuelle for 1876, said, 'Dr. Milman ne connaissait que son devoir. Il suffisait pour la tâche que lui imposait ce vaste diocèse, qui aurait exigé dix évêques aussi zélés que lui. . . . L'évêque Milman était également vénéré par les Hindous et par les Mussulmans, et tous déplorent sa mort prématurée.'

He was held in great veneration by the Hindu and Mahomedan princes also, and in a letter to his sister from the Maharajah of Jeypore, we find an expression of the feelings of the natives of India.

'It is with the deepest regret that I have learned the sad

tidings of the death of my respected friend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. I can scarcely give expression to the intensity of my feelings when I am addressing these few lines of condolence to you. The loss of the Bishop will be felt by the large circle of his friends, and by the public, as he had been universally loved and respected on account of his genial manners, his charity and munificence, as well as his benevolent sympathy for all classes.

'The Christian Church has lost in the lamented Bishop a great friend, who discharged the high functions of his office with indefatigable energy, and conscientiously fulfilled the arduous duties entrusted to him.

'One can scarcely conceive the magnitude of sorrow which has overwhelmed your mind, but I sincerely trust that God will give you sufficient strength to bear the calamity which it has pleased Him to visit you with.

'I sincerely mourn his loss, and feel it as a personal calamity. I am sure that his memory will be affectionately cherished by all classes of people in India.'

This is a curious heathen testimony to the merits of the Bishop who, according to a writer in the *Christian Intelligencer*, had as a *missionary* 'gained his brightest laurels, and fairly eclipsed all his predecessors . . . whose ever-earnest aspirations that all India should be won to God will undoubtedly add the most imperishable honour to his name. In every part of his conversation these are apparent, and tinge as it were with a mellow heavenly light every thought that he breathes, every word that he utters, every act that he does. . . . They lead him to acquire, with a perseverance and success which in one who landed in this country after his fiftieth year is almost marvellous, three native languages, Bengali, Hindustani, and Hindi, with various cognate dialects. They carry him, when spent with the toil of his proper diocesan work, into the midst of hundreds of natives in college, school, and literary institution. They form the crowning part of his conference with his episcopal brethren of

Madras and Bombay at Nagpore in 1873, and give the key-note to the well-known *Pastoral* which appeared shortly afterwards in their joint names; 'and finally they gild his declining hours with especial brightness. When at Peshawur he is already spent and worn with disease, he stands listening to the proclamation of the Gospel in the bazar; he preaches with all his accustomed energy for the Church Missionary Society, he distributes with his own hand the prizes to the boys of the Mission School, and addresses them at some length on their duty as its pupils, dictating, as it proved, his own death-warrant with the words, "At any cost, and at any sacrifice, as far as I am concerned, India shall be won to the Lord Jesus."'

The esteem and affection the natives of India of all ranks entertained for him was remarkable, for from his first advent among them, he had, as he said in one of his early letters, always 'spoken right out,' in his numerous lectures, and in his intercourse with them, openly urging conversion on them, always giving a plain confession of his own faith, and of his intense desire for their conversion.

The development of the nascent native Church was a subject which deeply interested him. Very early in his episcopate he embodied in rules the qualifications for the native pastorate. He examined the native candidates for ordination himself very carefully, and during the nine years of his episcopate he ordained forty-four, which shows a great increase in the native Church, as during the eight previous years there had been only fourteen.

He looked to the Divinity College at Lahore, which was opened in 1870, and to others of the same kind which he hoped to see established, to train fit men to be evangelists to their own people, and to infuse some of the apostolic energy necessary to make them successful teachers and preachers.

In 1875 he wrote: 'We express and acknowledge our sorrow for want of discipline. In the growing native community, and in the Church of the future, it will be comparatively easy to establish it.'

He drew up in the autumn of the same year certain rules on matters of discipline, which he submitted for discussion to the missionaries of the two societies. He even looked forward to native bishops, but thought that free election by the native Church would be a necessary condition of their establishment.

He felt deeply the need of more European missionaries to help on the native Church, not strong enough as yet to work alone; sore was his heart that his cry for men to come over and help seemed unheeded. Every day in his private chapel went up the prayer that God would send faithful men and women to work in his diocese. Good men died and no one came to take their place, but still he wrote in 1875: 'The mission work in India is making slow but steady progress in most places, in one or two its progress is rapid. Education, at its first blush ineffably conceited, is, for a time, rather working against it. When this phase is past, I trust that some receptive power will form itself in the hearts of our educated natives. It is not so much the intellectual as the moral power which is wanting. When the fuss and noise and sense of triumph are over, the still small voice may make itself heard.'

That there was and is a stir in the minds of the educated natives may be in some measure due to his efforts amongst them. They crowded to hear his lectures, which were a striking part of his work in all the large centres in the diocese. Full of intellectual power and original thought, these addresses ranged over a large field of study. Modern science, history, poetry, Sanskrit and Persian authors, were all put under contribution for them. 'Truth,' 'Faith,' 'Revelation,' 'Epic Poetry,' 'Backbone,' 'The Parallel to India afforded by the Roman Empire at the time of its Conversion to Christianity,' were some of the subjects selected. They always showed a profound knowledge of the needs and aspirations of India. Their object was always the conversion of his hearers. 'It is not unfitting that the last of these striking addresses should have been delivered to a crowded audience at the Town Hall, Umritsur, in November

1875, on a subject which gave opportunity for as true a missionary heart as ever beat to give utterance to the yearnings of a lifetime—"The Offence of the Cross," and none who ever heard it will easily forget that grand apology for a Christian's faith.'[5]

The Bishop always impressed upon the clergy not to be impatient for great results; 'waiting is the exercise of faith, "the wind bloweth where it listeth," but everyone should work and work on. As the Israelites, at God's command, marched round and round the walls of Jericho day after day, apparently with no results, yet when God gave the word the walls fell, so in India they must persevere, and when God shall give the word, the walls of unbelief will fall.'

How he marched ever on, his journals show, and these pages can hardly be more fitly closed than with the words of Chancellor Espin: 'The special need of his time was to infuse into the machinery already existing a fresh and quickened life, to rouse to energy and progress, to inspire with the spirit of zeal and love and self-sacrifice. And all testimony declares that Bishop Milman did this special work rarely and nobly. He left religion wherever he passed deeper, more real, more spiritual by far than he found it. This was a work to be done almost man by man, and into it he poured his very life.'

[5] See *Calcutta Review*.

APPENDICES.

Appendix A.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE CONFERENCE OF THE THREE BISHOPS AT NAGPORE IN 1873.

Resolved, 'That, assuming the correctness of the legal opinion given by Dr. Deane, Sir R. Baggallay, and Mr. B. Shaw, which however seems inconsistent with the fact that Bishop MacDougall was consecrated at Calcutta in 1855 by the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras and Victoria, after full consideration and with the cognisance of Sir George Grey, the then Colonial Secretary—the appointment of mere Coadjutor Bishops is open to grave objection; inasmuch as,

(*a*) 'Such Bishops would be without that freedom and independence of position which is essential to the due exercise of their office in a sphere of peculiar difficulty demanding the unimpeded exercise of every faculty.

(*b*) 'Their position as mere Curates, acting in entire subordination to the Bishop whom they assist, and only so long as he pleases, would render them in public estimation an inferior class of Bishops; whereas the work of missions, chiefly for the sake of which it is proposed that they should be created, should be treated as the noblest and most honourable in the service of the Church.

(*c*) 'They would almost necessarily be so closely connected with the respective societies to which they had previously belonged that they would tend to separate, by party distinctions, those who are cordially united under one Bishop.

'That, therefore, instead of adopting what must be regarded as an expedient of doubtful advantage, and which may lead to some evils, every effort should be made to remove all restrictions upon the free action of the Bishops of India, and to obtain an enabling Act of Parliament, which would empower them to rearrange their existing dioceses, to constitute fresh dioceses, and to consecrate additional

Bishops: such power to be exercised subject to the consent of the Government of India, and it being provided that no additional charge be made on the Indian revenues for additional Bishoprics.

'That if the settlement of the questions above referred to be unduly delayed, Coadjutor Bishops for the Southern Indian Missions might be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as a temporary expedient; such Bishops to take the oath of obedience to the Metropolitan of India, and their spheres of labour to be determined rather by considerations of territory than of relations to any Society.

'That such Missionary Bishops should not have oversight of Chaplains and of Clergy whose main work is the Ministration to Europeans and Eurasians, but might act as Commissaries to the Bishop under whom such Clergy are placed, if requested by him to do so.

'That the Committee of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund be invited to raise a special fund for additional Bishoprics in India, such fund to be used either in the way of endowments, or of annual grant, as in each case should seem expedient.

'That if designed to superintend Chaplains, a Bishop should have an income of not less than 1,250*l.* a year.

'That if a Bishop be consecrated for purely Missionary purposes, the case of each would probably have to be considered separately and judged according to circumstances. But generally it might be laid down that a Bishop should be paid double what he would have received as a Missionary Priest, if a single man; if a married man, double the allowance of a married man.'

Appendix B.

ARTICLE ON THREE ESSAYS ON RELIGION BY JOHN STUART MILL.

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These three posthumous essays seem to demand particular attention. They contain the concentrated essence of an extraordinary amount of the deepest reflection.

The wonderful training of Mill's boyhood and youth recorded in

his remarkable autobiography—his peculiar disposition, his unwearied industry, the concentration of his faculties on the object under his consideration, his singular freedom from every shape and form of traditional prepossession, enabled him to go into his arguments almost as a disembodied spirit, 'all naked feeling and raw life.' If Macaulay was described by Sydney Smith as a book in breeches, we might contemplate in Mill absolute bare thought. His intense desire for truth, and truth in the sense of demonstrated fact, delivered him from the 'idols of the cavern, the tribe, the school, the market-place, the theatre;' and brought him (as far as is possible) face to face with the problems of the mysterious universe in which we live, and which he was determined to investigate to the uttermost.

This is true of all Mill's speculations, but strikes us more than ever in these three essays published after his death, forming a curious postscript to his autobiography. They seem to give us his last will and testament of thought. They offer to mankind the concluding results of long years of unflinching and untiring meditation—the best boon which he could bequeath to humanity—the flower and crown of human reason.

We say emphatically of human thought; for all conceptions of Divine truth, all instructions and every least shadow of assistance from any inspired revelation, or even from any other human intellect beside his own, because admired and honoured in past ages, are resolutely and persistently excluded from the formation of his theories on the most serious problems of human life.

Man's naked, unassisted thought, trained and disciplined to the utmost ability and energy, contemplates in an almost sublime isolation its own relation, and the relation of all men to the universe in which we find ourselves. We see him by means of these posthumous essays not for an hour or day, but for years wrapped up in the engrossing consideration of the questions ancient but ever new:[1] 'What is man, and whereto serveth he? What is his good and what is his evil? God and angel, priest, prophet, philosopher, sage—let them be silent, and let me think out myself as I am.' We see him in his argument stand solitary, magnificent; but we think a ruin. We hear him lift up his eloquent voice—it sweeps with surprising power over the heart, and then, when you expect the most, it dies away in a strange low wail, like the wind in some fallen and shattered temple of antiquity.

Is it a Manfred enunciating from some Alpine summit, in words of striking eloquence, and in a sublimity of isolation, the concentrated

[1] Ecclus. xviii. v. 8.

philosophy of despair! Is it a Prometheus chained upon the peak of Caucasus, the eagle rending his heart without ceasing, and yet, in the extremity of agony, amid the crash of thunders and the collision of worlds, breathing still one sad sweet strain of trembling but quenchless hope![2]

It is remarkable that in the last essay, and in several passages, especially towards its close, we are reminded by it of great heathen thinkers. A strange expression of hope, not apparently in perfect agreement with the logical development of his argument, comes out with surprising force.

Thus Plato, in a striking image, likens his philosophy to a solitary plank to which the shipwrecked mariner clings, amidst tempests and waves and weariness. It is so picturesquely expressed that you seem to see the sage drifting thus away into the darkness, but uttering at the same time a cry of hope, believing that the support, however frail, will bear him at last safely to a shore of peace and haven of light.[3]

In the same spirit Mr. Mill declares that, as appearances point to a Being[4] who has great power over us, and of whose goodness[5] we have evidence, though not of its being His predominant attribute, and as we do not know the limits either of His power or goodness, there is room to hope that both the one and the other may extend to granting us this gift of Life after death, provided that it is really beneficial for us. We have here expressions about futurity which seem to us different in tone and sound from those which meet us in the preceding essays, and which, giving utterance to his latest and most mature thoughts, are exceedingly welcome and consolatory.

We propose, then, to examine these three essays as much as possible by themselves, although it is plainly impossible to dissever them altogether from the autobiography, or from Mill's other writings, as, *e.g.*, from his later criticism on Comte and the Positive Philosophy. Nevertheless they constitute a whole in themselves; they give us the important points of a theory formed in a long series of years and a long course of meditation. He himself connects them together, and in particular uses some arguments of the first in the discussions of his last essay, which, indeed, would be in a great measure incomplete without the previous reasonings.

We profess at once that, while it is our purpose to note the character and force of the argumentation of these essays, we cannot

[2] See the last couplets in the *Prometheus Vinctus*. [3] P. 210.
[4] P. 240. [5] P. 256.

help, above all, observing in them a witness and support to the Christian faith, both in their negative and positive conclusions. We find in them the overthrow of many prevalent fallacies, and the unexpected maintenance of certain aspects of truth, too often disallowed altogether by the 'destructive criticism.'

It is true that the able authoress of the introductory notice, while maintaining 'that the author considered the opinions expressed in these different essays as fundamentally consistent,' nevertheless implies that some discrepancies may seem to remain after a really careful comparison between different passages; and again, that 'they must not be regarded as a connected body of thought.'[6] But although the first two essays were written between the years 1850 and 1858, while the third was written between the years 1868–70, yet the author, in the third, two or three times appeals to and applies his arguments in the first essay; and although he does not mention the second by name, yet he is evidently carrying out and defining the exact idea of the utility of religion, which is the subject of that second essay. We think, therefore, that we are fully justified by the author himself in regarding these treatises, if not as a connected body of thought, yet as presenting us with a most interesting development of thought on the subject of religion, and as supplying the main links of the chain of reasoning which guided him to the conclusions at which he arrives.

It is certainly possible that a further study of the works of a later date, such as that of Mr. Darwin and others, might have in subsequent revisions modified the opinions expressed in the essay on Theism. But it is evident from that essay itself that he had fully and maturely (after his constant practice) considered the bearing of their views on this particular question. We therefore have no hesitation in treating these three essays as containing a distinct and emphatic expression of the author's mind on the particular subject of religion, and, as is said in the introduction, 'the carefully balanced results of the deliberation of a lifetime.'

The first essay is entitled *Nature*. Mill begins by a careful discussion of the meaning of the word, and attacks the fallacious or indistinct employment of the term. He objects with great justice to the employment of the word natural, as implying in itself excellency in the ideas which it is used to designate. The word may be applied to the total phenomena of the universe, either including *volition* or excluding it. He shows the extreme importance of settling clearly

[6] P. vii. and viii.

whether we include or exclude that idea. He also demonstrates the futility of condemning art in comparison with nature, and elsewhere strikingly expresses the weakness of the notion that nothing but mere benevolence and goodness, in the common sense of kindness, are exhibited in the case of the world in which we live.

There is a grand but terrible passage, in which he depicts a different view of Nature from that taken by what may be called the Rousseau school.[7]

'In sober truth, nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another are Nature's every-day performances. Killing, the most criminal act recognised by human laws, Nature does once to every being that lives; and in a large number of cases after protracted tortures, such as only the greatest monsters whom we read of have purposely inflicted on their living fellow-creatures. Nature impales men, breaks them as if on the wheel, casts them to be devoured by wild beasts, crushes them with stones like the first Christian martyr, starves them with hunger, freezes them with cold, poisons them by the quick or slow venom of her exhalations, and has hundreds of other hideous deaths in reserve, such as the ingenious cruelty of Nabis or Domitian never surpassed. All this Nature does with the most superlilious disregard of mercy and of justice, emptying her shafts upon the best and noblest indifferently with the meanest and worst, upon those who are engaged in the highest and worthiest enterprises, and often as the direct consequence of the noblest acts; and it might almost be imagined as a punishment for them. Everything, even that which the worst men commit either against life or property, is perpetrated on a larger scale by natural agents. Nature has Noyades more fatal than those of Carrier. Her explosions of firedamp are as destructive as human artillery. Her plague and cholera far surpass the poison cups of the Borgias. Even the love of "order," which is thought to be a following of the ways of Nature, is in fact a contradiction of them. All which people are accustomed to deprecate as "disorder" and its consequences is precisely a counterpart of Nature's ways. Anarchy and the Reign of Terror are overmatched in injustice, ruin, and death by a hurricane and a pestilence.'

Such are some extracts from this remarkable account of Nature, but the total cumulative force of the whole denunciation spread over several pages ought to be felt, in order to appreciate the tremendous plea against the mere benevolent view of Nature.

[7] Pp. 28–9.

He then discusses the justifications or excuses for the maintenance of that view. It is said that 'good comes out of evil.' To this he replies that evil might be said in like manner to come out of good; but, with just discrimination, points out that this balanced antagonism is by no means the general tendency of either phenomenon. On the contrary, both good and evil naturally tend to fructify each in its own kind, good producing good, and evil evil. It is one of Nature's rules, and (as he strangely expresses it) part of 'her habitual injustice'[8] that 'to him that hath shall be given, but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.' Hence he condemns strongly the writers on natural theology who have exhausted the resources of sophistry to make it appear that all the suffering in the world exists to prevent greater—that misery exists for fear there should be misery.[9] But if again it is replied that the goodness of God (viewed as the Author of Nature) does not consist in willing the happiness of His creatures, but their virtue; and hence that the universe, if not a happy, is a *just* universe, he points out that this does not get rid of the difficulty. He answers with the old enigma that the wicked often prosper and the good often suffer. He reminds us that the necessity of redressing the balance has been deemed one of the strongest arguments for another life after death.

Hence, he draws the remarkable inference that 'not even on the most distorted and contracted theory of good, which ever was framed by religious or philosophical fanaticism, can the government of Nature be made to resemble the work of a Being at once good and omnipotent.'

Thus he arrives at what perhaps may be called one of the most peculiar and startling of his conclusions. He maintains that if there be any Author of Nature, we must recognise a limitation to His power. There must be either something like the matter or *hylé* of Plato and antiquity, or some opposing power, which is a limitation to the power of the beneficent Being. Hence also, as he argues afterwards, we perceive why design and an 'economy' in the patristic sense may be required for the carrying out the beneficent ends of the good Being. This revival of the ancient Zendic notions, or of the contest between Ormuzd and Ahriman, is surely very noteworthy.

There are striking, and we may say classic, passages of a similar character in Mill's earlier writings. They have been considered[1] 'both in thought and expression a complete contrast to the ordinary

[8] St. Matt. xiii. 12. [9] P. 36.

[1] *Philosophy of Natural Theology* (Jackson), p. 176, note, and p. 224.

tone of Mr. Mill's disquisitions, attempered as they generally are between benevolence and expediency.' Mr. Mill, when his moral sentiments asserted themselves, felt these certainties as elements of his inner life. Rather than worship a Being whose unknown moral attributes fell beneath, not the dictates of utility, but the purest instincts of his own inmost morality, he goes on to declare that he is willing to suffer the horrors of eternal death.'[2] 'I will call,' says Mill, 'no being good who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to hell, to hell I will go.'

In an able article on Mr. Mill's death a critic says:[3] 'It is impossible to read Mr. Mill's works with any attention, and in particular to look with intelligence on the latter part of his career, without seeing that by temperament he was essentially religious; but that, as far as positive doctrine went, his mind was an absolute blank. We believe that it was this sharp contrast between theory and feeling which drove him into the schemes for the improvement of the world which have been exposed to so many, and in some respects well-founded, objections. Having to love something, and being, as it were, chained down by his own logic to this world and this life past, present, and future, he struggled to make a sort of religion out of man as he might come to be after centuries or millenniums. Humanity, progress, a realisation of all the ideals at which his theories pointed—these were his divinities. If he had consistently followed out his own views, if he had carried out his Benthamism with perfect consistency, the result would have been too hard, too grim, too dismal for his eager and sensitive heart. Hence came the faltering, the inconsistency, the romance of his later days.'

This is a powerful and just criticism, and the ideas underlying it appear to gain new strength from these essays published after his death, in the last of which especially the sympathetic expressions of the critic seem to be finding their realisation.

'He bore a burden common to many. If he bent under it, it was not because his thought was less, but because his sensibility was greater. When he died, one of the tenderest and most passionate hearts that ever set to work an intellect of iron was laid to rest. May he rest in peace, and find, if it be possible, that his knowledge was less complete than he supposed, and that there was more to be known than was acknowledged in his philosophy!'

[2] Mill on Hamilton, Chap. III., ad fin.

[3] *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 10, 1873, quoted by Mr. Jackson.

The beginnings of the desired dawn seem to us to be shining out especially toward the close of that essay upon Theism, which is, as we said, by far the most touching and interesting of the three. Without these the impression would have been like that left on us by the 'Lucretius' of Tennyson, rayless and overwhelming.

The comparison[4] is well grounded, for it has justly been observed that 'the views of Lucretius as to the natural origin of life, and the progressive advance of man from the rudest condition by the exercise of his senses and accumulated experience, his denial of final causes universally, and specially in the human faculties, his resolution of all our knowledge into the intimations of sense, his materialism and consequent denial of immortality, and his utilitarianism in morals—all present striking parallels to the opinions of one great school of modern thought.' Allusion is here evidently made to the school of Mill; but then, as in Mill, so in Lucretius, the idea of law in nature implies the further idea of power. It leads up necessarily, although this is not consciously realised by the Roman poet (as it seems to us it was not clearly by Mill), to the wider and higher idea of will. 'This conviction of the universality and certainty of law, although antagonistic to the popular religions of antiquity, is no way inconsistent with the convictions of Theism.'[5] The mind of Lucretius was in one sense a *religious* mind also. 'The higher conception of God was neither consciously accepted, nor consciously denied by him. There is through all his poem a pervading solemnity of tone, as of one awakening to the consciousness of a great invisible power in the world. There is an inconsistency between the mechanical view of the universe which his understanding accepts,[6] but which is not acquiesced in by the higher speculative faculty which combines the feeling of the imagination with the insight of the reason. His belief is not atheistic nor pantheistic, it is not definite enough to be theistic. It is rather the twilight between an old and new faith.'

How many of these strange and noble inconsistencies seem to be almost word for word like the later ideas of Mill! How much like that twilight between the old and the new is the state of mind represented to us in this last essay of Mill! In both the ancient and the modern grand sceptic the condition is really higher than that put into the dying lips of the great Epicurean bard by Tennyson:—

O Thou!
Passionless bride, divine Tranquillity,

[4] See *Poets of the Roman Republic*, by Sellar, p. 251.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 274. [6] *Ibid.* p. 280.

Yearn'd after by the wisest of the wise,
Who fail to find thee, being as thou art
Without one pleasure and without one pain,
Howbeit I know thou surely must be mine
Or soon or late, yet out of season, thus
I woo thee roughly, for thou carest not
How roughly men may woo thee, so they win.
. . . . Care not thou!
Thy duty? What is duty? Fare thee well![7]

The last essay for these reasons is, as we observed, by far the most touching and interesting of the three, though perhaps less perfect in style and not so completely worked out in expression as the preceding ones. Before, however, we discuss its argument, it is necessary to glance over the second, on the utility of religion, because in it those yearnings of the soul which have been spoken of began to take shape, and to utter more or less articulate cries; while at the same time the 'dualistic' view comes into greater prominence. In this earlier treatise also he pronounces far more strongly in favour of the 'religion of humanity' than he would have done after his criticism on Comte, with its grand and half-contemptuous pity, had modified probably unconsciously his own previous conception of it.

He maintains the essence of religion to be[8] 'the strong and earnest direction of the emotions and desires toward an ideal object recognised as of the highest excellence, and as rightfully paramount over all selfish objects of desire.' He considers this to be fulfilled by the religion of humanity in as eminent a degree, and in as high a sense, as by the supernatural religions in their best manifestations, and far more so than in many others.

This curious abstraction, humanity, is perhaps the most singular object of adoration ever proposed for the worship of mankind. The idea of self-sacrificing duty simply for duty's, or of benevolence for benevolence's sake, is conceivable and grand, and, we believe, at the bottom of this philosophy, when it has any base at all. But the idea of humanity—*i.e.* of the abstract human race as a motive of action—is, we must say, almost comical. Hence also, as has been seen, the mere abstract idea has had to be linked to some concrete and flesh and blood ideal of the female sex which has made it painfully ludicrous.

With this abstraction Mr. Mill unites the Buddhist idea of annihilation as by no means unlikely to be the supreme good.[9] It has, indeed, been questioned whether this is the theory of the Buddhist

[7] Tennyson's *Lucretius*, ad fin. [8] P. 109. [9] P. 121.

creed.[1] But, although some authors deny it, Burnouf, Hodgson, Max Müller, Spence Hardy, B. St.-Hilaire, Bishop Bigandet, and others, recognise it as the opinion of the Buddhist sages; and that it is so not only for the initiate, but for the masses (at least to some extent), we can ourselves bear witness. For we remember in a Burmese village seeing some boys in one of the kyoungs or monasteries prostrated apparently in deep devotion. We questioned an intelligent and well-educated Buddhist, who was with us, what they were engaged in, who informed us that they were praying. We asked, 'To whom?' After a pause he said, 'Nobody;' and 'For what?' the answer was, 'Nothing.' The idea of the Buddhist young man was that the little devotees were indeed praying, but to nobody and for nothing. It is strange how extremes meet. The Buddhist child must *pray*. He seemed to think this perfectly natural, but he can pray to Nobody, and for Nothing. The ablest and wisest of philosophers cannot do without religion, but he may have an abstract Non-Entity for the object of his worship, and Annihilation for the summit of his desire.

The third essay is entitled *Theism*. It discusses first the evidence for the existence, and then for the attributes, of such a Being as God. This brings us into higher and pleasanter regions of thought. He first considers the argument of cause and effect. He dismisses at once as altogether useless the *a priori* arguments, as they are called. They seem to us, indeed, much more worthy of consideration than he allows them to be. The notion that there must be some corresponding reality to the idea of perfection within us (perfection embracing the idea of existence) is not the mere *petitio principii* that he imagines it to be. It may not be conclusive, but neither are the arguments, which he recognises as valid, allowed by him to be certainly conclusive. The fact is that, as has been lately felt, it is in the convergence of the evidences, and their consequent accumulation of force, that the strength of natural theology especially consists. However, the *a priori* theories of Des Cartes, Leibnitz (we might add the names of Anselm and S. Augustine), on these questions do not come into the scope of our discussion. They are summarily dismissed by Mill, and his views are the matter under review.

I. What strength has the argument, that the idea of causation implies a first cause? It should, indeed, be at once observed that the latest able reasoners have fully proved that the step from the notion of a series or chain of causes and effects to that of an originator of

[1] Neibbhan or Nirvana.

that series differs, not in degree, but in kind, from the previous generalisations. This seems felt, but is not clearly expressed by Mill. He observes, indeed, that with the modern theories of the conservation of force we have to recognise a permanent as well as changeable element in nature, and that this permanent element (as far as experience testifies) has no beginning, and therefore no cause. If it be said that force implies volition, and that volition implies mind, and that the human mind implies a perfect creative mind, he denies the applicability of this reasoning to the facts of nature. He seems to us to eliminate the *facts* of our mind, or conscious will, too much from the province of experience, although in one place he states them to be our only certainties.

The idea of origination in the will and in the mind of man is one of these facts, and this apparently is what gives us the real idea of an original self-existing cause. We feel that we have in some sense a power of origination. It is true that we must, as Bacon observes, 'obey nature that we may command her.' But the results of human thought and will—the railroad, the electric telegraph, and all the whole realm of applied science and art—are felt to be in some sense original, and give us by analogy, and an analogy of experience, our only idea of a real originating power. How much more must this hold good in moral matters. Mill, however, concludes that the first cause argument is in itself of no value for the establishment of Theism.[2]

He then considers the old argument from the consent of mankind —or if not, of all the wise and great among men—but this again is insufficient, because grounded on no experimental evidence. The argument from consciousness follows. This we have already seen that he has rejected; he denies that the subjective idea implies the reality of the objective idea. There does not follow a corresponding reality outside the human mind.

He then turns to that argument which he alone recognises as having any force, *viz.*, the famous one from design; and he takes the noted instance of the eye, and discusses briefly but powerfully the evidences of design in the eye; and he treats it as an inductive argument of some force.[3] 'There must be some connection by way of causation between the cause which brought these elements together, and the fact of sight. Therefore not sight itself, but an antecedent idea of it,—that must be the efficient cause.'

To this argument he allows weight, but he considers it weakened

[2] P. 153, ὃ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ, τοῦτ' εἶναι φάμεν.—Arist. *Eth. Nic.* [3] P. 171.

by the theory of the 'survival of the fittest.' Nevertheless, making the necessary allowances, he infers that the adaptations in nature afford a 'large balance of probability in favour of creation by intelligence.' This is, however (as, indeed, it is generally esteemed), no more than a probability; still it is probability. This is a weighty and remarkable declaration. The importance of the smallest probability in a matter of such moment has been demonstrated by Butler in his analogy. We have never seen his reasoning refuted.

Mill advances then to a further important matter, viz., the question what *attributes* are we warranted, by the evidence which nature affords of a creative mind, in assigning to that mind.

His depth and originality of thought show themselves especially in the consideration of this subject. His conclusion appears to us very different from, and superior in, logical power, to those theorists who would exclude altogether any notion of the supernatural. Take, perhaps, the last utterance on this point by this school. 'It is manifestly our first duty,[4] as it should be our supremest pleasure, to apprehend as clearly as we may the laws by which the Supreme Being governs the universe, and to bring ourselves and our actions into reverent harmony with them, conforming ourselves to their teaching, and learning wisdom from their decrees. Thus, making the Divine Will our will, we shall recognise in the highest sense that God is ever with us; that His good providence controls our slightest actions; that we are not the sport of Satanic malice, nor the victims of fitful caprice, but are eternally cared for and governed by an *omnipresent immutable power*, for which nothing is too great, nothing too insignificant, and in whose Divine order a fitting place is found for the lowest as well as the highest in the palpitating life of the universe.' The words which we have italicised are those which in Mill's view give an idea of the universe which revolts his judgment.[5] Such a Being would seem to Mill almost as if the blasphemous flattery of Lucan were fulfilled, and a Nero exalted to the dominion of the universe. He maintains that the very idea of design implies limitation, and excludes omnipotence. We have already seen what nature becomes in his opinion under such a view; and surely his opinion is far more coincident with the facts of experience. One groan of pain, one tear in a baby's eye, seem to us to contradict that simply optimist notion of nature and nature's God. Eliminate the supernatural, and nature by herself becomes a great crushing machine, exterminating pitilessly all who come beneath her sway.

[4] *Supernatural Religion*, II., 294. [5] See Lucan's *Pharsalia*, I., 40.

How, then, does Mill describe God? 'A Being of great but limited power, how or by what limited we cannot even conjecture, of great and perhaps unlimited intelligence, but perhaps also more narrowly limited than His power; who desires and pays some regard to the happiness of His creatures, but who seems to have other motives of action which He cares more for, and who can hardly be supposed to have created the universe for that purpose alone.'

Thus we are brought to the next great question of religion—a future life—immortality.[6] Once for all, we must say it is impossible to abstract or condense Mill's arguments satisfactorily. Each sentence is a world of thought, each conclusion an elaborate epitome of volumes. We can only give the results as he expresses them. He thinks that from natural theology there is no evidence in favour of immortality.

But—and this is most observable—he recognises the possibility of miracles, he allows the possibility of revelation; of course under many limitations and conditions, and almost as if the consent was extorted from him by his truth of character and force of logical insight. Therefore he next discusses revelation; he does not (as so many now do) fling the idea away with contempt. On the contrary, he allows it to be not improbable, though still uncertain, that a revelation has been given.

Here we have another most important acknowledgment, taking again into account the argument of the immense practical consequence of even the slightest degree of possibility in such a matter.

If, then, he declares that the whole domain of the supernatural is removed from the region of belief, he yet establishes it in that of hope, using there the word belief in the sense of certainty from demonstration. It follows that we should nobly labour for perfection, and be fellow-workers with this divine Being.[7] Moreover, he declares that 'this idealisation of our standard of excellence in a person is quite possible, even when that person is considered as imaginary. But religion, since the birth of Christianity, has circulated the belief that our highest conceptions of combined wisdom and goodness exist in the concrete in a living Being, who has His eyes on us and cares for our good.'

He goes further: 'The most valuable part of the effect on the character which Christ has produced, by holding up in a divine person a standard of excellence and a model for imitation, is available even to the absolute unbeliever, and can never more be lost to hu-

[6] P. 196. [7] P. 250.

manity. For it is Christ rather than God whom Christianity has held up to believers as the pattern of perfection for humanity. It is the God Incarnate more than the God of the Jews or of nature who, being idealised, has taken so great and salutary a hold on the human mind.' We do not use the words in the same sense with Mill, nor do we own the disagreements which he maintains; but surely we have here a grand and perhaps half-unconscious witness to 'the inheritance of faith' in which we live. We cannot imagine any real limit to the divine power or wisdom, except such as He himself ordains. But Mill is true to himself. So in these words we surely hear echoes of divine truths: 'We are saved by *Hope*, but hope that is seen is not hope.'[8] 'The creature is made subject unto vanity not willingly, but by reason of Him that subjecteth the same in *Hope*.' 'The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.' There is an ordered march, design, and purpose in the movement of the universe. There are other ends besides the mere display of beneficence in that world which is[9] 'to the praise of the glory of His grace, wherein He hath made us accepted in the Beloved.' [1] 'Having made known to us the mystery of His will, according to His good pleasure, which He hath purposed in Himself: that in the dispensation of the fulness of times He might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are in earth; even in Him.' There is the command as the result of our mercies, to be 'fellow-labourers with God.' Christ goes on 'conquering and to conquer,' and the white-robed armies follow after in order and array similar to His. Life is a warfare, and 'to him'[2] He says, 'that overcometh will I give to sit with me on My throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with My Father upon His throne.' Surely we have here the practical solution of the enigmas of life corresponding to that which philosophy desired and dreamed of. But the subject would require a volume.

We cannot enter into Mr. Mill's ideas of the contradiction between the old and new dispensations, between the Synoptic evangelists and St. John, between the Gospel of Christ and that of Paul. But, while embracing the full faith of revelation, the heart must be cold which cannot enter into and sympathise with the difficulties and trials, the noble aspirations and purposes, which amidst some great discords make up a grand hymn of life out of the most antagonistic materials. What else could have been expected from so powerful and burning a

[8] Rom. viii. 24, 20, and see whole passage. [9] Eph. i. 6.
[1] Eph. i. 9, 10. [2] Rev. iii. 21.

mind, cast from the first dawn of its intellectual life into so tremendous and inexorable a mould, than some such sublime self-contradiction?

Is it even presumptuous to follow the soul going out into that future in that ill-defined but quickening hope—to imagine how that eagle eye may at last sink, and that daring forehead bow, and as the full light of truth shines out behind the veil, how the spirit may at last recognise in all the fulness of Godhead and Manhood Him whom, however imperfectly, he regarded as his ideal. When the great truths rise up before him in all their majesty, may not the great Sceptic, like the sceptical but penitent Apostle, be ready to fall down and worship, crying, 'My Lord and my God!'[3]

Appendix C.

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE ON OCCASION OF THE BISHOP'S DEATH.

The Governor-General in Council has received with the deepest regret the intelligence of the death at Rawul Pindi, in the Punjab, on the morning of the 15th instant, of the Right Rev. Robert Milman, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

The Governor-General in Council desires to place on record the sense which he entertains of the late Bishop Milman's indefatigable energy in the discharge of the high functions of his office; of his charity and munificence; of his zeal in promoting all good works, especially the education of the poorer classes of Europeans in India; and of his broad and benevolent sympathy with all the community. The Bishop has devoted his health and strength to the conscientious fulfilment of his arduous duties in ministering to the spiritual and temporal welfare of his diocese; and he has now died in the midst of his labours, doubtless in consequence of them.

The Governor-General in Council is sure that Bishop Milman's untimely death will be felt as a personal loss, and that his memory will be affectionately cherished by her Majesty's subjects in India.

[3] St. John, xx. 28.

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